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MEDICAL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY is the title of an article in the January Atlantic Monthly by Professor Robley D. Evans of Massachusetts Institute of Technology. This institution was prominent in the development of atomic energy and the discovery of the atomic bomb.

Dr. Evans' article shows that through medical advances alone atomic energy has already saved more lives than were snuffed out by the bombs.

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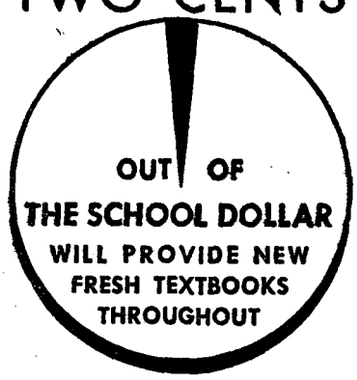

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 144, NO. 15 NEW YORK, MONDAY, APRIL 8, 1946 NUMBER 1637

Strengthening the United Nations

LIFE IS GROWTH. It is not enough for the United Nations to withstand the onslaughts against it. The United Nations must grow if it is to live.

The United Nations needs for its growth power to control atomic energy and to prevent an atomic arms race. Trygve Lie has called for action by the Atomic Energy Commission. The Commission cannot even meet because the Soviet Union, China and Mexico have not yet appointed delegates.

The military experts of the Security Council have called for an army of two million for the United Nations. It is inconceivable that this army can be directed, or atomic energy controlled, by the Security Council if it is to be paralyzed by the widest possible interpretation of the veto power.

The Commission on Human Rights has been charged with the drafting of a Bill of Human Rights. The USSR and Yugoslavia still have not appointed delegates to the Commission. The FAO, UNESCO, the International Trade Organization and many specialized agencies of the UN are still awaiting marching orders.

These facts do not call for the suppression of criticism against the USSR or Britain or any nation in the name of "Big Three Unity" while the basis for real unity in the UN is steadily under attack. They call for the demand by the peoples of the world for all governments to respect the only true basis for lasting unity—support of the Charter.

The Charter asserts that "Any member of the United Nations . . . may participate without veto in the discussion of any question before the Security Council whenever the latter considers that the interests of that member are especially affected." In the Iranian dispute Secretary Byrnes acted in accordance with the principles of the Charter. The USSR clearly attempted to deny Iran's right of participation in the discussion, and to extend the power of the veto far beyond the interpretation given to it at San Francisco and by the agreement between Premier Stalin and Harry Hopkins on precisely this point. If the Soviet position had been upheld by the Security Council, the only possible result would have been to weaken the Charter and therefore the United Nations.

On April 3, the Soviet Union told the Council that there was no connection between the evacuation of troops and the economic and political issues of the Iranian dispute. Two days later the agreement between Iran and the USSR was published, including the terms of the evacuation of troops, oil concessions and the status of Azerbaijan. On April 7, Ambassador Gromyko, in insisting that "the Iranian question must be dropped from the Agenda of the Security Council," told the Council that "the question of evacuation of Soviet troops is solved by the agreement reached between the Soviet and Iran governments." This assertion, at variance with earlier statements and with the Charter, seems to make the Agreement illegal under the Iranian constitution.

Gromyko's letter appears to be both a means of applying further pressure on Turkey and Iran on the issue of Azerbaijan and the start of a diplomatic offensive against Britain and America within the UN.

Again it is necessary to assert that all actions within the United Nations can be judged by only one

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criterion: Will they strengthen, or weaken, the UN?

Two issues in the Soviet government's protests to the Security Council may be American occupation of Iceland and North China. In both these issues the American government will be able to reply in terms of the Charter. The major issue may be Spain. Here it is vital that we recognize Spanish fascism as a great moral issue that the United Nations must squarely meet and firmly resolve.

We believe that the Soviet government doubts that the leaders of the capitalist countries hold any strong convictions. They were completely baffled by Mrs. Roosevelt's insistence on the importance of the rights of the individual during the Assembly debate on refugees. They are dominated by suspicion of our motives in the Iranian issue. So long as our actions are inconsistent, any stand on principles by the democracies is interpreted as a move in the formation of an anti-Soviet coalition, and the objective of Soviet diplomacy becomes the breaking up of the coalition.

In the light of the record of Indonesia, Greece and Japan, we have, Lord knows, no monopoly on morality and defense of the Charter. On the Spanish issue, Poland, Mexico and the USSR will argue before the Security Council that fascism anywhere is a menace to world peace, and that in accordance with Article 34 and Article 36 of the Charter, the Council must recommend the breaking of diplomatic relations with Spain.

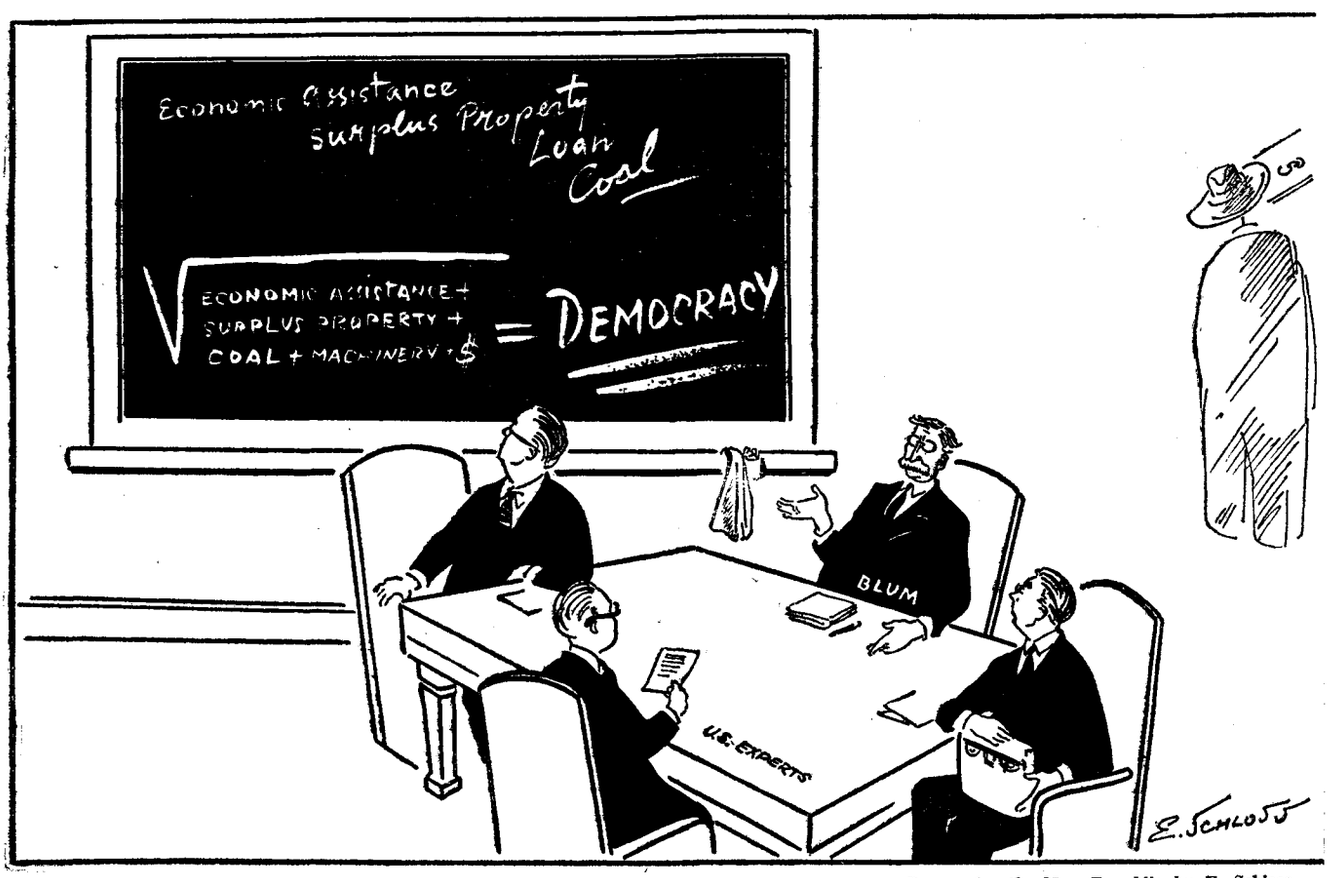
Far more positive action than this is needed. If the United Nations takes the responsibility for overthrowing Franco, it must also take the responsibility for minimum loss of life in Spain and for providing food for the new government. This is the task of the Conference of Paris rather than the Security Council, but the timing is important. Quick action is needed if the Spanish harvest is to be saved and starvation prevented in Spain.

The issue of Spain is a test of our good faith in strengthening the United Nations. Only Franco could rejoice when the USSR lost its moral leadership on the Iranian issue. If in defense of inaction in Spain we now lose the moral leadership we have gained, the United Nations will be gravely weakened.

Democracy for Georgia

The Supreme Court has made its expected decision upholding the right of Negroes to vote in the Democratic primaries in Georgia. It could have made no other. Two years ago the Court ruled that Texas Negroes could not be barred legally from voting. This case was on exactly the same principles. The Court did not even see fit to deliver a decision. It merely refused to review a lower-court ruling that a Georgia statute limiting primary voting to whites violated the Fifteenth Amendment.

What is amazing is the blatant bigotry of the Georgia election officials who made the appeal. They placed the issue of white supremacy squarely before the Court, asking it to rule "on the right to confine the right of suffrage in primaries to white citizens." From one point of view, it is fortunate that they did



Drawn for the New Republic *by E. Schloss*

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not seek to confuse the issue. The Court's decision is so clear that it is hard to see how Georgia can do anything but comply.

"Harmony," Southern Style

The Committee on Harmony and Coöperation—an off-key group of disgruntled Democrats—has achieved a clean-cut split in the House Democrats.

The immediate reason for this new organization of Southern Democrats was a statement by Democratic Chairman Robert Hannegan in the *Women's Democratic Digest* that the passage of the Case labor-disputes bill was "a vote against the American people." But their embitterment began with Truman's legislative program, and was emphasized by Wallace's speech spanking the Democrats who have been lining up with Republicans against Administration issues.

The Committee of Ten, headed by Representative Barden of North Carolina, turned its fire on Hannegan, demanding an apology for the "castigation of loyal Democrats." Both Hannegan and the *Digest* apologized, but not to the committee's satisfaction. They want a written retraction. Most of all, they want to know "whether the Democrats or the CIO are running the party."

Reading the Record on Reece

What are the qualifications of the head of the Republican Party today?

Brazilla Carroll Reece, favorite son of John W. Bricker, has been elected chairman of the Republican National Committee. Here are his qualifications.

In International Affairs:

In September, 1943, he voted against even the weak Fulbright Resolution on the United States commitment on international collaboration.

In May, 1945, he voted to recommit the bill to extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act which would have given the President bargaining powers by granting him the right to raise or lower tariffs.

In November, 1945, he voted for the free-press amendment to cripple UNRRA.

In Domestic Affairs:

In August, 1939, he voted against Roosevelt's self-liquidating public-works bill.

In March, 1940, he voted against additional appropriations to the NYA.

In March, 1942, he voted to extend the life of the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities.

In February, 1943, he voted to liquidate the Home Owners' Loan Corporation.

In June, 1943, he voted in favor of placing the burden of income taxes on the low-income group.

In June, 1943, he voted against executive use of funds to roll back prices.

In June, 1943, he voted to abolish the domestic branch of the OWI.

In February, 1944, he voted against the soldier-vote bill.

In January, 1945, he voted for a permanent House Committee on Un-American Activities.

In June, 1945, he voted to transfer price control on farm produce to the Department of Agriculture. This would weaken the unified price-control policy.

In Labor Affairs:

In December, 1941, he voted for the Smith anti-strike bill.

In June, 1943, he voted for the Harness Amendment to the Smith-Connally bill. This amendment prohibited labor contributions to political campaigns.

In June, 1943, he voted to override Roosevelt's veto of the Smith-Connally bill.

In February, 1946, he voted for the Case anti-union bill.

In Farm Affairs:

In April, 1943, he voted against incentive payments to farmers under appropriations to the Department of Agriculture.

In June, 1943, he voted against the appropriation of $100 million to the Department of Agriculture for soil conservation. The appropriation was passed.

In June, 1943, he voted against having any of the $100 million appropriation go to the farmers as incentive payments.

In June, 1943, he voted against allowing any of the $100 million to be used for crop insurance.

In June, 1943, he voted against increasing the Rural Electrification Program appropriations.

In National Defense:

In June, 1939, he voted for an amendment to an Army appropriation which would have cut 1,283 planes and $37 million out of the bill.

In November, 1939, he voted against supplying England with arms.

In November, 1939, he voted against modifying the Neutrality Act.

In September, 1940, he voted against conscription.

In February, 1941, he voted against Lend-Lease.

In August, 1941, he voted against extending the draft.

In August, 1941, he voted against emergency seizure, with just compensation, by the government of equipment and supplies for the Army and Navy.

In October, 1941, he voted against repealing the law forbidding the arming of merchant ships.

In November, 1941, he voted against lifting belligerent port and combat-zone bans on our shipping.

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What's really bothering the "Harmony" group is the coming elections. Their anti-Administration votes on everything including veterans' housing have lost them the blessing of the Administration. They are no less concerned about labor's intense campaign to organize workers in the South. So, in defense, they are anxious to discredit Hannegan in the eyes of their constituents, who in many cases will have a choice between the incumbent and a more progressive candidate.

There is no longer need for "Harmony" group members to meet behind closed doors with Reece Republican reactionaries. Progressives in both parties welcome the split between Stassen-Republicans and the Reece crowd, between Southern Democratic conservatives and the New Dealers.

America and Starvation

Of the 120 days termed "the most desperate in the world food crisis," one-third have passed by and are lost. Yet the Administration's strongest offer so far to help feed the world's five billion hungry people is the deferred pricing plan to pull from U. S. farms the one million tons of wheat per month we have promised to UNRRA.

Immediately after the plan was announced by the Department of Agriculture, however, Washington representatives of the National Grange gave it a cool greeting. A Grange spokesman said price increases were the real solution and doubted that the program would shake loose much grain. Such a statement will help hold back the grain, even though the Grange will probably announce formal support of the plan. As yet, the powerful Farm Bureau Federation has not commented on the proposal. The National Farmers' Union is ready to go down the line with the offer, but the plan will require the full support of all farmers to be effective.

The cool reception of our most ambitious plan can be contrasted with reports made before the Emergency Food Conference in London a few days ago. Representatives of Europe's hungry countries recited their gloomy stories of want. France and Belgium reported their situations grave. Greek representatives said their country is already down to a daily ration of 950 calories, with a further cut expected. Italy's delegates said, "We have starvation today in Italy." UNRRA officials in China report that even if all of China's present food quota is received, China will still lack more than half her requirements for relief.

LaGuardia, cognizant that even a few tons of wheat will mean to some the margin over starvation, has caused much surprise by getting from Argentina (through Francis B. Sayre) a promise of 30,000 tons before May 1.

As yet LaGuardia has given no public encouragement to those who believe that the only solution to world food problems is a return to rationing in the U. S., although the voluntary food-conservation program undoubtedly is not realizing its aim of persuading Americans to eat 40 percent less wheat and 20 percent less fats. You can get a quick check on that by asking yourself if your own family has cut its food consumption by those percentages.

Civilian Atomic Control

BY UNANIMOUS ACTION, the Senate Special Committee on Atomic Energy a few days ago rejected the original Vandenberg amendment it had once espoused, and substituted a new version which, as Senator McMahon correctly observed, "is a notice to the military to restrict itself to its own business." To imply, as some have done, that Senator Vandenberg had merely phrased his first amendment a little unfortunately and that there was really no basic issue involved is to do an injustice to Vandenberg's intellect. The original amendment was a clever and deliberate device to give the armed services what would certainly have been, as a practical matter, the last word on every decision relating to atomic-energy developments, whether or not the subject matter had any military relevance.

Vandenberg and his colleagues on the Senate committee backed down, not because they were suddenly overcome by sweetness and light, but because they were trounced by McMahon, the scientists, a great number of civic organizations and the newly formed National Committee for the Civilian Control of Atomic Energy.

The original amendment provided for a presidentially appointed military liaison board whose area of operation was as big as all outdoors—anything affecting "the common defense and security." It had the right to inform itself of everything going on, which would have meant a continuation of the Army phone-tapping and letter-opening techniques. In the event of failure to agree with the civilian control commission, it could have by-passed the Secretaries of War and Navy and appealed directly to the President. The tradition of military matters reaching the President through the civilian Secretaries would have been destroyed and a basic principle of this democracy, that its common defense and security are subject to civilian decision, would have been lost.

The new amendment corrects almost every objection to its predecessor. The military board will be appointed by the Secretaries of War and Navy and must report through them. They, not the officers, will appeal to the President. The civilian commission informs the military, rather than the military snooping for information. Finally, their action is limited to matters of military applications, and the Secretaries may appeal

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to the President only when they feel that a decision is adverse to the responsibilities of their departments, as those responsibilities are "derived from the Constitution, laws and treaties."

The victory is a heartening one, but we are not out of the woods yet. A new fight is almost certain to come when the bill reaches the House, at which time the brass hats may be expected to make their last stand by reviving the May-Johnson bill.

Political Roundup

This is the third of a series of reports analyzing American political developments between now and the November, 1946, elections. – THE EDITORS

THE RECENT Republican National Committee meeting produced unanimity on one point at least. All were confident that the Republicans will make a clean sweep in the 1946 elections and capture the House of Representatives. To that purpose, the GOP dedicated an all-time high budget of $1.5 million, twice that spent in the 1942 by-election. The Republicans will have to gain 28 new seats, and hold all those it now occupies, to pay off on this investment. The slide-rule experts of both major parties agree that this campaign will be decided by what happens in 99 key congressional districts, scattered through 24 states. Fifty of these are now Democratic; 49 are Republican. Most of the present Representatives from them were elected by less than 60 percent of the total vote in 1944.

Colorado. – Democrats know that they can unseat the present Governor, John Vivian, with a strong candidate. National Farmers' Union President James Patton has now definitely rejected the nomination, and Colorado Democrats are burning up the long-distance wires trying to persuade Undersecretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman, ranking Coloradoan in Washington, to come home and run for the job. Charles Graham, young Denver progressive, will again challenge Representative Dean Gillespie for his position, this time, his supporters believe, with a good chance. Curt Ritchie, owner of a Pueblo radio station, is being pushed by Southern Colorado progressives as desirable successor to Representative Edgar Chenoweth.

Montana. – Lief Ericson, former Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court, perhaps the ablest, most vocal progressive in Montana, will be the only candidate against Senator Burton K. Wheeler in the July primaries. Representative "Mike" Mansfield, who had considered running, has decided to stick to his House post—wisely, the experts think.

West Virginia. – Reactionaries of both major parties have been threatening Senator Kilgore for years. The only definite opposition entered in the May 3 Democratic primary as yet, however, is Kay Thomas, a young hack politician from Charleston. The Republicans are laying serious plans to take Kilgore in November. Oil-man Walter Hallanan, national committeeman from West Virginia, who served as Republican National Chairman Carroll Reece's campaign manager in the recent party election, seems to be backing a party wheelhorse named Tom Sweeney. And there is every sign that the Republicans intend to invest heavily to defeat the effective Kilgore, either with Sweeney or some more impressive candidate.

Connecticut. – Senator Brien McMahon has decided against backing Chester Bowles for any high Democratic position in Connecticut politics this year, which is a melancholy commentary on McMahon's ideas of politics. Representative Chase Going Woodhouse recently charged publicly that the trouble with Connecticut politics is that there are too many Irish Catholics in public office. Senator McMahon did not welcome this kind of plain speaking, and since then a wide gulf has appeared between the McMahon-Woodhouse forces. McMahon has not yet admitted it, but he is supporting Connecticut Labor Commissioner Tone, a good organization Irishman, for the United States Senate post being vacated by Admiral Hart, in preference to Bowles.

On the Republican side, most likely ticket is former Governor Joseph Baldwin for Senator, Wesleyan University President MacConaghey for Governor. Representative Joseph Talbot is running for Governor, too, but will probably fall flat on his face. Republican boss Francis Smith will name his Fifth District successor; it will not be McMahon's candidate, Vincent Kiernan, a shoe-company publicity man.

Representative Herman J. Koppleman shows some signs of wanting a go at the senatorship before retiring. If he should enter the lists against the McMahon machine in the convention, it would probably be as a part of a Bowles-Koppleman-Woodhouse slate.

Watch out for "Chuck" Bolte of the AVC as a candidate to succeed Clare Luce in the Fourth District.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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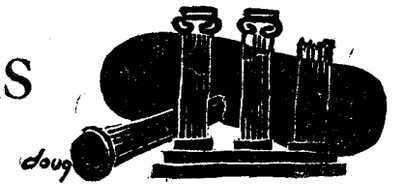
The Greek Elections



by George de Santillana

THE RESULTS of the Greek elections cannot be taken to represent in any way the actual distribution of opinion. Certainly no one will consider the Right henceforth a legitimate majority—not only because of the padding of the voting lists and the abstention of the Left, but also because many who *did* vote were only expressing *in extremis* a confused desire of self-preservation from civil war. There is no room left today on the Greek scene for free and rational political thinking.

Now that the painful ceremony is over, the Allies have only two alternatives, of which they must visualize the consequences.

1. They can treat Greece as a free country which has a legally constituted government, *i.e.*, evacuate and let the Greeks shoot it out. In that case they would have to stand by as Russia runs weapons over the border to assist ELAS against the rightist forces equipped by the Western Allies. It would repeat the pattern of the Spanish civil war. But under present conditions, no one knows where that might lead. If the Russians move into the Dardanelles, the first act would be over quickly.

2. They can back the "legally" constituted government and prevent an outbreak by force of arms, while repeating their intention of getting out as soon as possible, which statement would, of course, become a mere fiction. The EAM and ELAS are fully prepared for this. The way they think now, they would keep scattered forces in the hills and organize the masses underground. They are confident that the mistakes and excesses (and also the incapacity) of the Right in power will push the majority of Greeks into the opposition camp, there to await the result of the coming showdown between the great powers. The Communists firmly believe that repression and suffering are prime requisites for the "politicalization" of the masses.

The Rightists on their side quite frankly admit that they will have to exert force on a large scale. This leaves little leeway for constructive reform. The Right—even granting it better intentions—would have to carry on with the present system and pin its hopes not so much on economic betterment as on the coming world war. Both so-called Populists and Liberals (they have become in practice indistinguishable) believe they can unite the Greek people only in the nationalistic ideal of "Greater Hellas," which means conquest at the expense of Albanians, Yugoslavs and Bulgarians. This idea is not entirely senseless, for the average Greek is apt to respond to any campaign against the "Slav danger." The net result seems to be that the whole Greek setup, from Left to Right, is organized into a detonator for world conflict.

The British admitted that the elections "were not likely to be satisfactory," but they feel that the political situation still lends itself to "constructive" efforts. They will continue to insist on the multiplicity of viewpoints, on the guarantee of fairness presented by the Allied observers, who, it must be admitted, were valuable, but who could not be asked to stay in Greece indefinitely if the elections were delayed; besides, "we had no assurance of Leftist coöperation at any future date even if we postponed [the elections]."

The cabinet started disintegrating two months ago, as its members best known for intelligence and ability resigned. Their motive was not mere defeatism. In fact, they are Western-minded legalists who hoped to assist the Western cause by compelling the English and Americans to realize that elections could not be held while real power was in the hands of the royalist X-gangs.

But it is no use to damn the British. They are certainly not backing the thugs. If the situation is so deeply poisoned, it is because of a chain of circumstances of which the British are only one link.

YOU CANNOT LEAVE a country leaderless and exposed to ruthless repression, with hundreds of thousands dying of starvation on the bare earth and patriots roaming the hills with chattering teeth, while "the rich, the well born and the able" go on buying and selling, fattening on the profits of the stock market and of speculation at the expense of the destitute, without arousing grave doubts as to the soundness of the system. You cannot build up a government composed of those who fled abroad, or preached prudence and submission at home, without wounding to the quick the vast number of those who suffered and fought with the Popular Resistance Front. If the EAM was taken in hand by the Communists, whose is the fault if not the absentees'?

The British will counter that it is not their fault if they found the EAM, which they had assisted, unwilling to coöperate in the general pacification and ready instead to risk a *coup d'état*. And the argument will go on in mutual misunderstanding.

But the political results are only too clear. Drastic

George de Santillana is on the faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He has been overseas for several months as a special correspondent for the Atlantic Monthly, *and has just returned from Greece.*

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change was urgently needed, and the Allies had no formula for that. As in Italy, they compelled the Center parties to bear the burden of an impossible status quo—"pending free elections," or whatever the pious formula was. This, of course, meant handing back actual power (as distinguished from administrative authority) to the vested interests which bore the responsibility for past misfortunes, and who, knowing themselves threatened, proceeded to entrench themselves by any means.

In politics there can be many sides, but in a state of potential or actual civil war there can be only two. That is how we find the Greeks arrayed today, after initial swings of the pendulum, into two solid blocs, with the Center gone off into vapor. That is why we find the X-ites in actual power, and those who used to be quite reasonable moderates supporting the scandalous record of the successive British-sponsored administrations, their graft and inefficiency, their disloyalty to pledged agreements, their indifference to reconstruction, coupled with their active interest in diverting UNRRA goods to the black market. This holds for Papandreou, Kanellopoulos, Sophocles Venizelos and their kind. To have called these men black reactionaries two years ago (as the EAM was doing) would have been unfair. They certainly were not such then, and they still do not see themselves in that role. Nevertheless, they stand now, along with the Royalists, against the wall, and it is our fault as much as theirs.

What are the real intentions of the EAM? It is difficult to judge whether they would welcome some kind of working arrangement. Last year, when they had a chance to push through the Varvaresos stabilization plan, which the Right was torpedoing, they sabotaged it. As things stand now, they have more hope of uniting the masses in despair than of holding them together under a reform government. Today, the Greeks are scared: of their own violence, of their dreadful memories, of the blood-feuds which have torn families asunder, of the unpredictable consequences.

In one thing the British were right. Mere postponement of the election would have solved nothing. A solution would have been somehow to grant the EAM, even if provisionally, at least a third of national representation. If we had granted the same proportion to a revamped center, we could have built it up again into a party holding the balance of power, and the average Greek would have flocked to it with relief. For it is quite clear that the great majority in Greece are still looking for a livable solution that will not sever them from the Anglo-Saxons and from the freedom of the seas.

Now that the elections have happened, the next best thing would be to disregard them; to tell Tsaldaris and his cohorts, quietly but firmly, that they had better keep away from power for a while, and to form some caretaker government which would really start taking care of urgent drastic reform, with American help and supervision. But it could not do the job under six months. One way or the other, Greece needs a strong helping hand from outside, or she will destroy herself. And what that would mean to world stability is easy to guess.

Washington: Unconducted Tour

by Ralph G. Martin

THE FLOOR OF THE House of Representatives was deserted except for a sprinkling of congressmen, some of whom were just starting to snooze. A few others were reading newspapers or talking or laughing. Only a handful seemed to be listening to the speaker who was advocating a $300-million appropriation.

The usher at the gallery door was a blond young veteran who was telling some typical reactions of visitors.

"Sometimes they stop as they come out and say, 'So this is it. So this is how our government operates. Well, phooey!' And sometimes they're so mad, they get red in the face."

The usher shook his head. "The trouble is, most people don't understand that a lot of congressmen are away on committees. But even so, supposing you were a congressman and some long-winded jerk was making a boring speech about something that didn't matter and you knew he was going to speak for hours and that you had a million letters to answer and a lot of other things to do, why hang around and be put to sleep? So you get up and leave, that's all."

The thing that bothered him most, though, was the way Congress had chopped up the veterans' housing bill with all kinds of amendments. "And then they wrote home how they had voted for more homes for veterans. What a joke! There was nothing left of

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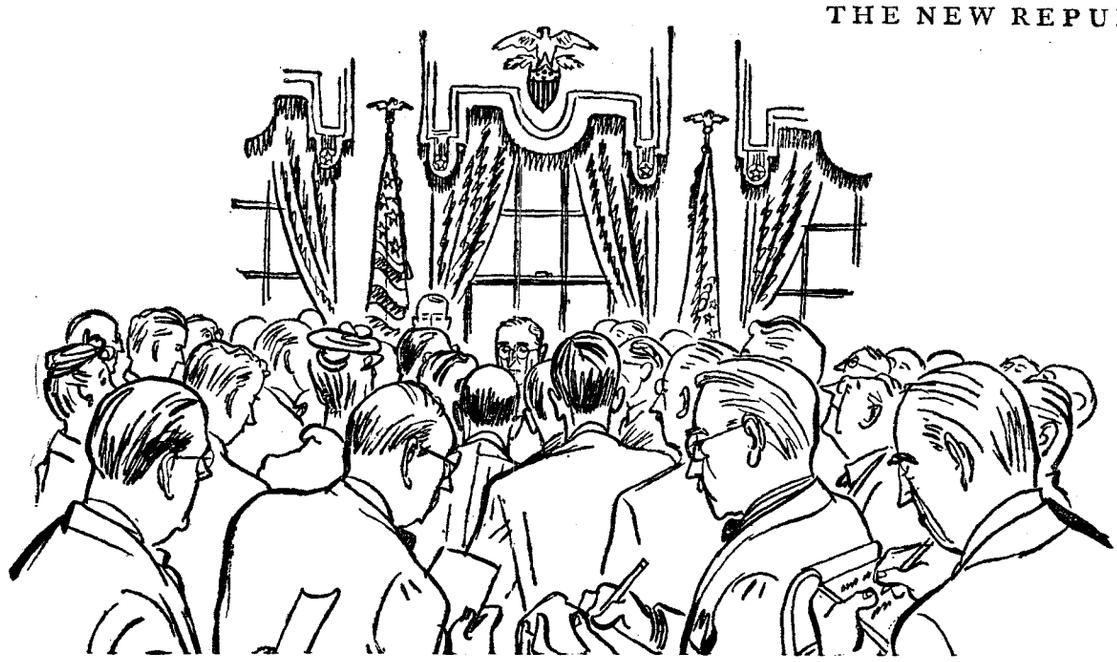

that bill but a skeleton. Boy, I can hardly wait until I start my own little hardware store and get out of this screwy joint."

Except for the tourists, who stayed scarcely long enough to sit down, almost everybody in the big room seemed to be carrying his own briefcase. Inside the Supreme Court room, the museum silence was broken only by the low voice, almost a monotone, of a lawyer pleading his case.

But attention was focused, not on the lawyer, but on the eight judges—their facial expressions, their changes of mood, the questions they asked. Every remark by any of the Justices caused an appreciative murmur and head-nodding from the listening lawyers. Mr. Justice Murphy scribbled something on a note, gave it to the page boy, who handed it to Mr. Justice Frankfurter. And when Frankfurter smiled appreciatively at Murphy, somebody whispered, "I wonder what the hell's in it."

They were discussing the British loan in the Senate Banking Committee, meeting in Room 301, and Senator Taft was somehow tying it all up with South African gold mines. His voice sounded high-pitched and thin compared to Senator Barkley's quiet tone and Senator Murdock's low, rich voice.

Sitting at the edge of his seat, a young man was listening intently, saying, "Right, right, right. Of course." Ten elderly women suddenly got up and filed out, each of them carrying a copy of "Washington Practical Guide." As Barkley was telling Taft about the sterling dollar pool, a soldier came in, listened for a few minutes and then left.

Taft seemed surprised when the point came up that Canada belonged to the United Kingdom and a woman smiled and whispered, "My God, doesn't he know that?" Her woman friend shrugged her shoulders and kept knitting a baby sweater.

When the meeting finally broke up for lunch, a late-comer said to his friend, "Kinda dull, wasn't it?" His friend crinkled his nose. "I told you what it would be," he said. "What did you expect? Groucho Marx?"

Inside the White House, credentials were checked and doublechecked. Press visitors were shunted to a side room and instructed to come in only after all the regular correspondents.

Standing near the door, a blonde woman reporter was saying to somebody, "Now you got me all wrong I'm not anti-Russian. In fact, I'm not anti-anything, so why are you anti-me?"

When the door finally opened, the correspondents came skipping-running across the hall, each of them trying to get ahead of the others. After they had packed in, all standing, you couldn't see the President just the backs of their heads.

The questions came quickly and President Truman's answers bounced right back. There was no weighty pondering of words and thoughts; this was fast give-and-take. To some question about strikes, Truman's voice was sarcastic when he said what a pity it was that the newspapers almost never publicized a peaceful settlement of any labor dispute but always punched out their biggest headlines for strikes. His sarcasm turned into a tired patience when he was asked what the government was doing to pass the universal military-training bill. He emphasized each word when he said that he couldn't tell the Senate and the House what to do. To another question, his voice became firm and loud—the United Nations, he said, is not going to collapse, because we won't let it.

A correspondent said, "Thank you, Mr. President," and the regulars raced for the doors. There were two big baskets of flowers behind his desk and somebody wondered who had sent them and a reporter popped "Ickes, probably."

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Subhas Chandra Bose

by Alfred Wagg

In India today there are powerful forces working toward violence and revolution. The tinderbox situation awaits only the emergence of a revolutionary leader. Those who look for such a leader are waiting for a dead man—Subhas Chandra Bose.

Bose has twice been reported killed. In March, 1942, he was supposed to have died in a plane crash on the Japanese coast. Shortly after the announcement, he appeared to lead his Azad Hind government. The Japanese News Agency reported that he had received serious injuries in a plane crash at Taihoku in Formosa and had died in Tokyo a few days later, on August 19, 1945. But in January, 1946, Mahatma Gandhi admitted in a press conference that Subhas Chandra Bose, his former opponent in Congress Party councils, "was likely to choose a propitious time to reappear in India."

The political career of Subhas Bose began after his return from Cambridge University in 1921. Proclaimed by his followers as "India's de Valera," he was violently anti-British, and outspoken in his opposition to Gandhi's pacifism. An open break with Gandhi came after an angry session of the All-India Congress Party in April, 1939, and Bose was forced to resign the presidency. If Bose returned to India today the tables might be turned. Gandhi has offered the youth of India no policy of action.

Bose spent nearly ten years in and out of jails. While in prison in 1930, he was elected to the office of Mayor of Calcutta. His rise to power in India was due mainly to three factors: his aggressive opposition to Gandhi's methods; his fortunate prediction early in his career that a new youth group would have to come to power in the ranks of the All-India Congress Party; and lastly his highly organized underground movement, assisted by Indians who think of themselves as Partisans in the cause of freedom.

In 1941, Bose traveled from Berlin to Japan. A few months later he went on an inspection tour of areas in Southeast Asia which had been brought under Japanese rule. During the trip, he came to the conclusion that the large number of Indians in the Japanese-held areas of Southeast Asia provided the nucleus for a strong outside force to fight for India's cause against the British. By October, 1943, Bose's agents in India were well enough established for him to announce the formation of the Azad Hind government for a free India. He was named president of the organization, first formed in Singapore and Burma. The Azad Hind government made itself generally useful to the Indian population under Japanese rule by furnishing them with protection against the rabble of the Japanese armies, and often made deals for food supplies. His activities under the Japanese became legendary, being carried back to India by word of mouth to add to his popularity.

During the early months of 1945, I joined the 19th Indian Division, which scaled a mountain range to capture the Burmese hill resort at Maymo, where Bose's

Burmese headquarters were located. Among the documents found in the safe of the Azad Hind government were receipts for perfume purchased for Bose's private use, and other items showing the vanity of the man. Thinking himself too fat, Bose had ordered a corset. There were photographs of Bose with members of the Japanese puppet government, and records of large sums of money extorted from Indian families in Burma.

In 1944 posters began to appear on the houses of Indians stating that the inhabitants were in good standing with the Azad Hind government. If the family didn't pay dues for the poster, their home was

Alfred Wagg has recently returned from several years in the Far East as a newspaper correspondent.

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liable to be ransacked by Japanese soldiers. Indian merchants also paid taxes on sales to the Azad Hind, plus bounties for contracts to supply Japanese troops.

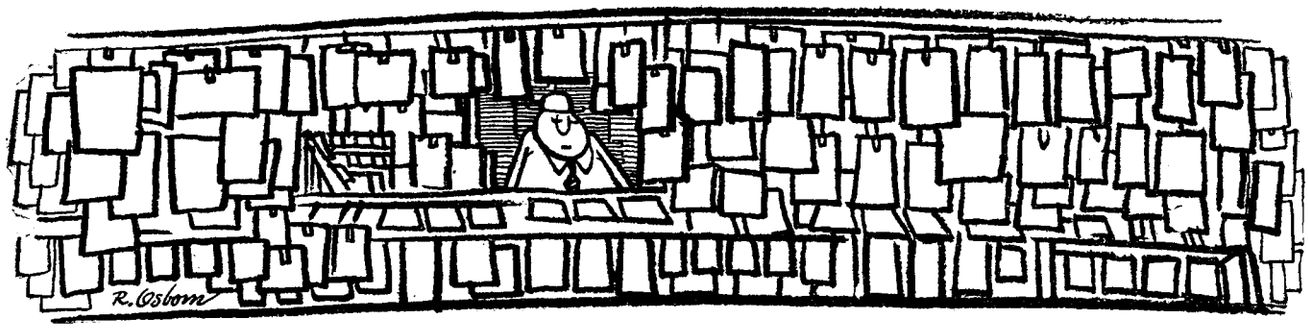
When Bose was for the second time reported dead, Indians demonstrated their affection by parades. The Indian press was filled with stories of Bose's exploits, and thousands of telegrams and letters of condolence were sent to the Bose family. Even Nehru and Gandhi found it necessary to send messages of sympathy.

The Indian Nationalist press raised Bose to the status of a national hero. The campaign had two results. It lauded Bose's popular fight against British rule and gave notice to the British that Indians did not consider their fellow countrymen serving in Bose's armies to be traitors. The campaign, added to riots and disturbances throughout 1945, helped to force the British to face political reality. Members of Bose's Indian National Army were let off lightly. As his followers marched off to prison, India began to elevate Bose to the position of her foremost martyr. Indians began to wonder seriously whether Bose was really dead—whether he would return to lead a militant fight for self-rule.

In devastated Rangoon, I talked to Dr. Lakshmi Swaminadhan, a highly educated, delicately beautiful woman known to be Bose's close friend. She is a college graduate, a professional doctor, and held a cabinet post in Bose's Azad Hind government. She saw military service against the British in Burma, organized a "girl-regiment" and joined the Bose government. I asked her if Bose was alive. "Subhas will return to India," she said.

In Calcutta I talked with Sarat Chandra Bose, Bose's elder brother. He told me he had refused to accept the condolences sent the family. "There are many ways to tell that my brother is alive," he said. "I *know* he is not dead." He had received a delayed Christmas gift. It was his "dead" brother's gold watch. Inside the watch was a note in Subhas Bose's own handwriting, dated November 26—three months after the date of his supposed death in Japan.

Dead or alive, Bose today represents the extremist elements in India—the elements which want to fight, not passively resist. They believe in Bose's orders dating from 1942 to "work for the day of revolution." Most of them are convinced that their fighting leader will return to lead them. Some Indian observers have said that if Bose is dead, another leader will be found to take his place—to parade as Subhas Chandra Bose himself—and lead India's extremist factions in a fight against the British, the Moslems and the All-India Congress for the control of India's troubled destiny.



Magazine Ferment

by David A. Munro

THE VOLITANT PUBLISHING COMPANY, one of the new ones, was named after a horse. Volitant came in at 20 to 1, and a bettor named Adrian B. Lopez suddenly found himself in the big money. Out of respect for the horse, which died soon afterward, Lopez founded the Volitant company. There is nothing horsy about Volitant; it reflects another side of Mr. Lopez's character. Its half-dozen magazines are all what is known in the trade as girlie books. His most popular titles are *Laff* and *GI Joe*. But no matter what the title, the major editorial ingredient of the Volitant magazines is a scantily clad and sketchily drawn female figure.

Volitant is a fair sample of the present confused state of publishing. Strange titles have jostled for position on the newsstands while the best-known magazine went under the counter out of sight, like butter or nylons. Those put out in front were named, among other things, *Goofy Gags and Gals*, *Ribtickler Comics*, *Twinkle Comics* and *Murder Stalks the Mayor*.

Naturally the explosion over Hiroshima produced a magazine called *The Atom*. Another came out called *Atom Bomb*, also one called *Atom*. The trade journa

David A. Munro, the founder and original editor of Space and Time, *has written for* Business Week, *the* New Yorker, Pageant *and the information section of the OPA. He is now free-lancing.*

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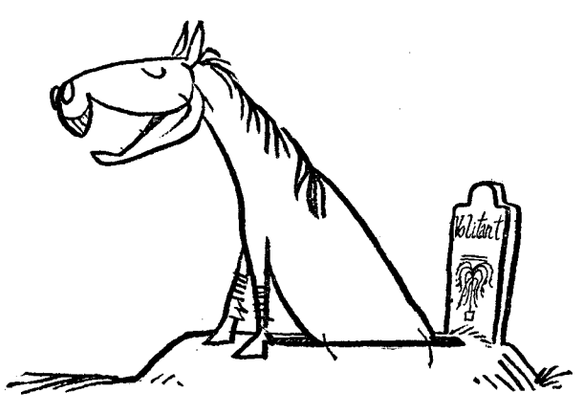
of the newsstand business lists 245 comic-book titles as appearing regularly. They all sell for a dime—except for two items known as *Wink* and *Titter*, for each of which readers put up 25 cents, and undoubtedly get their money's worth. In this field *Superman* has had the effect you would expect of so prodigious a personality. He has been followed not only by *Super Comics* and *Super Magician*, but by *Super Duck*, *Super Rabbit*, *Super Snipe* and *Super Mouse*, who attained his powers by eating Super-cheese.

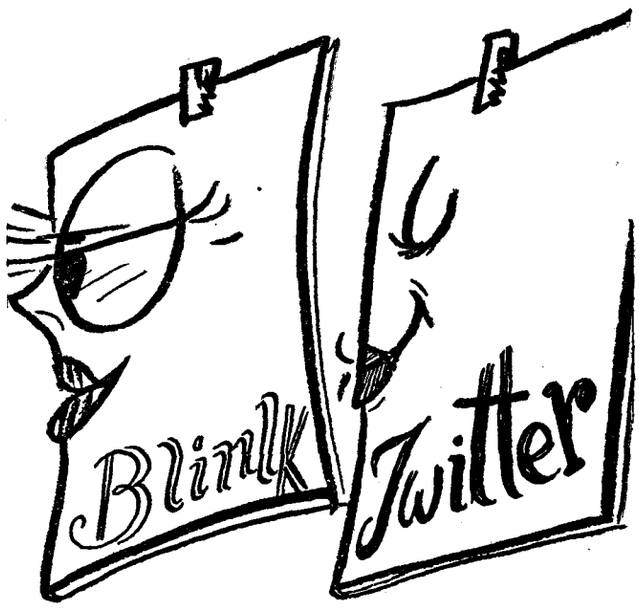
Macfadden's *True Story* has had a startling effect on the inventors of magazine names. It was followed by *True Romances*—both founded shortly after the last war. It was also followed by variant versions of the name brought out by Macfadden himself, *viz.: True Love and Romance* and *True Experiences*. These brought on the "real" books, paced by *Real Romances* and *Real Life Story*. Even *Reader's Digest* ran into similar confusions as the titlemongers scraped the bottom of the language barrel. *Digest and Review* appeared, and *Magazine Digest* and *Read* and *Reader's Scope*.

Publishers you never heard of have suddenly shown up with the standard complete line: confession, movie, detective and girlie books. Here and there a name has turned up out of the storied past of journalism. There is, for instance, Emile Gauvreau, now editor of *Picture News*, and formerly, as editor of New York's *Graphic*, the famed chronicler of the romantic adventures of Daddy Browning and the girl known as "Peaches." A GI came back from the war to resume publication of *Go*, a travel and miscellany book he had suspended to go into the service.

Serious publishers, too, have their eyes on the lively newsstands. They recall what happened directly after the last war when Bernarr Macfadden brought out *True Story* (1919); DeWitt Wallace, the *Reader's Digest* (1922); William H. Fawcett, *True Romances* (1923); Henry R. Luce and Britton Hadden, *Time* (1923); Raoul Fleischmann and Harold Ross, the *New Yorker* (1925).

Within fifteen years these magazines dominated the American magazine scene. They pushed out *Delineator*, *Pictorial Review*, the *Literary Digest* and a long list of others. Even the mighty Curtis and Hearst





magazine empires were having troubles, while the new publishers went from success to success.

There are a lot of candidates showing up now, hoping to become the Luce or Wallace of the 1950's. This time they're not waiting for inspiration to take root slowly the way the experimenters of the twenties did. They're starting their magazines now, hoping for an easy take-off in the favorable weather of what's left of wartime prosperity.

SOPHISTICATED PUBLISHERS know, of course, that the big money isn't in the girlie books. As a matter of fact, the really big money seems to be only in the right-side-of-the-tracks magazines. Magazines in our moralistic culture have to have a good purpose. That's what makes ministers' sons like Luce or Wallace good at editing magazines. In fact, for the purpose of identifying the magazines seriously aimed at the big time, all you have to do is watch for the moral ingredient. Here are some of the leading contenders, all with the priceless ingredient that makes a great magazine:

Science Illustrated, 25 cents, has set itself the task of eliminating the social lag between invention and employment of invention. It is a monthly, like the many others now in the field; it is heavily pictorial, as they are, but it is not keyed to juveniles. Editor is Dexter Masters, whose past indicates more ability to handle humane concepts than a facility with the cold facts of science. Masters edited *Tide* during its period of notable growth. Always a radical, he then went to edit *Consumer's Union Reports* and later the consumer newsletter, *Bread & Butter*. During the war he was editor of *Radar*, the Army's highly secret trade magazine for this new technique. Masters and his publishers hope that *SI* will become a new, big magazine, running into the millions, carrying weight in human affairs.

Jerry Ellison's Magazine is a nameless experimental-stage product. It will be the nation's first coöperative

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magazine. It will be digest-size, sell for a quarter and look more like *Coronet* than the *Digest* because it will be at least 50-percent pictorial. Ellison, former *Collier's* editor, has sold a long list of top-flight writers, artists and photographers on the idea that they will get paid proportionately more and have more editorial freedom if they own the magazine they write for. He needs 300 contributors putting in $1,000 each, and at this writing he already has 100. The corporation is the Associated Magazine Contributors, Incorporated. These 300 backer-contributors will name the officers and decide on the format, the editorial slant, etc., when all are signed up. The financial deal is that each contributor will be paid a word rate equal to the going rate and that profits at the end of the year will be divided up according to how much each has contributed. Probable publication date is either late this fall or early next year. Notable names now on the Ellison roster include Margaret Culkin Banning, Pearl S. Buck, John Hersey, Walter Lippmann and John Steinbeck.

The Farm Quarterly, 50 cents, is a breath of fresh air from the country. It is edited by Ralph J. McGinnis of Cincinnati and is brought out by the publishers of *Minicam* and *Automotive Digest*. It is large and lavish, with an intelligent use of good pictures. *FQ* is not a hayseed publication. It is a revolt against the deteriorated farm papers, selling for an average of 50 cents a year and now falling into the hands of various industrialists who want to use them for political purposes. It follows *Country Book*, another quarterly for the literate farmer. Of digest size and selling for a quarter, *CB* is five years old. Both are engaged in selling country living as a desirable way of life. But *FQ* is the attempt to do it in a big-league way, to hit the millions.

Holiday, 50 cents, is the first magazine the Curtis Publishing Company ever founded. It is a travel and vacation book. Its commercial reason for being is the prediction that America's biggest business during the first postwar years will be recreation. It is large and lavish like the *Farm Quarterly*. But *Holiday's* layout is not in the modern manner. Its photos are cut into cookie-cutter designs. Its carefully balanced editorial content seems geared to encourage advertisers, not readers. Tom Maloney, editor of *US Camera*, has announced the first rival to *Holiday: Travel and Camera*.

Curtis Picture Magazine is nameless as yet, but James Yates, the ad-man from William Esty and Company who redesigned the *Post*, and Ted Patrick, an ad man from Young and Rubicam and the OWI, are busy figuring out what ought to go into a picture magazine. According to unofficial informants, Curtis aims at producing another *Life* in size and price and picture emphasis. It would be a weekly. But Patrick and Yates are exploring possibilities they believe not covered by *Life*. The experimenters are now pursuing the theory that text *detracts* from pictures. They hark back to the famous early Farm Security Administration pictures by Dorothea Lange and others. They would like to see majestic sequences in solid pictures. However spring, 1948, is the earliest possible publication date according to informed sources in Philadelphia. And before then many things can happen—including real competition reëntering the magazine business.

Salute, 15 cents, is a by-product of war. It is a civilian version of *Yank*, with the editors, authors and artists familiar to the readers of *Yank* and *Stars and Stripes*. *Salute* has a message, even though obscure. It aims to express the radicalism of the returning GI. However, the general attitude of its first issue is one of caution. As the magazine was launched, it was accused by the New York *World-Telegram* of being Communist. Its publisher is Lev Gleason, the publisher of *Reader's Scope*. Its editor is Durban L. (Jack) Horner, former *Yank* editor in the ETO.

Field's *USA* is Marshall Field's rival to *Life*. Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, sold Field on publishing a magazine more liberal than *Life* and less prone to pandering to what Cousins considers the less admirable aspects of public taste. It would obviously not seek the millions in circulation that *Life* has, but would rather content itself with an intellectually superior section thereof. Unlike *Life*, it will have fiction and cartoons. It is regarded as definitely due to appear—currently slated for the first quarter of 1947.

This all adds up to several conclusions. The arrival of three mass magazines expressing various shades of radical opinion ensures that the opinions expressed in US magazines will henceforth be a deciding factor in their success. The founding of so many new magazines makes it certain that magazines will be increasingly competitive in the future. Naturally no one can predict who will be the Luce or Wallace of the fifties, but it is certain that the competition will be a stimulant to business; both the birth rate and the death rate will be high, and if the process does not produce the magazines America admires, it will certainly produce the magazines America wants.

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Power Politics in California

by Bruce Bliven

Sacramento

NOWHERE IN THE COUNTRY are class and economic distinctions drawn more sharply than in California today. Nowhere is economic interest more directly reflected in political activity. All the national problems are revealed here, and sometimes in a stage of greater development than elsewhere.

The Line-up. – The state is largely dominated by giant corporations, of which the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, bitter and inveterate opponent of public power, is a good example. Much of the state's agriculture is in the form of giant ranches (the Kern County Land Company alone owns 400,000 acres) which are as much big business as is U. S. Steel or Anaconda Copper. Their mouthpiece, the Associated Farmers, sees eye to eye with the National Association of Manufacturers on "free enterprise," low taxes and the necessity of "keeping labor in its place." Most of the newspapers and radio stations stand with the conservatives, and they all coöperate smoothly and effectively. Supporting them are many thousands of elderly coupon-clippers (in towns like Santa Barbara for instance) who have come West to die but want to take a long time to do it, and vote as they clip.

On the other side are the trade unions, especially in the San Francisco Bay region, well disciplined and politically conscious, a large part of the movie colony, where liberalism on a $100,000 income is not at all uncommon, and large numbers of average citizens who are definitely farther to the Left than their counterparts in the East.

This Year's Elections. – Few Californians will venture a prophecy about the results of this year's gubernatorial campaign. Governor Earl Warren, Republican, trying to succeed himself and keep in the picture as a possible GOP presidential candidate in '48, has a trick of favoring all sorts of progressive measures, while being quite sure that the conservative state senate, dominated by Associated Farmers men from the cow counties, will block them. This device will get him a lot of support from people who ought to know better; the AFL has endorsed him. The real progressives will vote for Robert W. Kenny, now Attorney General, in spite of his association with Ed Pauley and the states'-rights side of the tidelands-oil dispute.

In the senatorial race, Will Rogers Jr. and Representative Ellis Patterson, both well left of center, seem about evenly matched in the Democratic primary in June. The winner of that race will probably have a fair chance of defeating the present Republican Senator, William F. Knowland, in the fall. Knowland, son of the publisher of the Oakland *Tribune,* was appointed by Governor Warren to pay a political debt. He has lately been trying to slip through Congress a measure that would hamstring the great Central Valley Project.

Homegrown Fascists. – Southern California, always famous as the home of the crackpot, continues true to form. Little is heard nowadays of the Townsend Plan, but the Ham-'n'-Eggs movement still goes on, as a racket if not a crusade. It promises $30 a week to everyone over 50, to widows with minor children, and to those ill or jobless at any age, and even offers $3, $5 and $20 respectively to grade-school, high-school and college students.

Lately this sort of thing has taken an uglier turn. Gerald L. K. Smith, with his Hitlerian philosophy, has a good many followers who specialize in hating Jews, Negroes, Mexicans and Nisei. A Los Angeles City Councilman named Meade McClanahan is a Red-baiter of the Martin Dies type. When petitions were circulated demanding his recall from office (which is possible under a California state law), McClanahan picked out those with obviously Jewish names and began widely publicizing these names, together with *home addresses,* which looks like a clear incitement to violence.

Careful new estimates predict an unemployment of one million in California this year, far more than can be rescued by the available funds for unemployment insurance or public works. The possibilities for the growth of native fascism are obvious.

What Ever Became of the Joads? – In the great war boom, thousands of Okies and Arkies, who had been so mercilessly exploited by California, found jobs at good wages and tasted for the first time the luxuries of houses with running water and flush toilets. Now a lot of people want to force them back into the migratory labor camps under conditions Steinbeck made so vivid. The Joads don't want to go; but there isn't much work for them elsewhere. Their savings and unemployment compensation will soon be exhausted. Perhaps California's famous increase in population, on which everyone is counting, will bail out the Joads to some extent by providing new jobs in the service trades. If so, it had better come quickly—and be big.

This is one of several articles reporting on conditions in various Western states. – THE EDITORS

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Washington Notes

Mr. Truman's First Year

PRESIDENT TRUMAN, a year ago, took office with a political honeymoon—based on a funeral. A year ago newspapers were making two wishful predictions about Truman, both wrong, that he would go conservative and would get on with Congress. This humdrum column, less romantic, found Truman "an average, hard-working, unassuming, honest man who has had a series of remarkable breaks and in each case has made the most of them." It praised his humility and said that, if commonplace, he also showed common sense. It suggested a period of greater control by Congress with personal government "out." Continuing, the column predicted that half the Roosevelt cabinet would be gone in six months, with replacements less liberal but more forceful than some of the Roosevelt mediocrities, pointed to Truman as a party "regular" and "practical politician," noted that he wouldn't be his own Secretary of State and that "it will be surprising if Byrnes is not given a post of major responsibility." Although liberals wouldn't like a lot of the changes, nevertheless there were "encouraging signs in the Truman record," the column continued, adding, "Personally, I do not see how the present political honeymoon can last."

That was not too bad a batting average for prediction, which is an underpaid profession anyway. But alas, this fallible column also threw in the comment that Truman was the kind of man whose appointees would almost certainly get congressional confirmation (shades of Ed Pauley!) and that politically he was about "center—his danger will be lest it become 'dead center'."

Truman isn't in the center. A year has shown him as a likable, modest, hard-trying, commonplace man who's definitely attempting to carry through a program of social reform. Congress keeps batting him down, and Harry keeps coming back for more. There is no Roosevelt trumpet call in his voice, but it is fair to say that on nearly every big social issue that has come up so far, Truman has been on the Roosevelt-liberal side. Our Harry may be no paragon, but he looks an awful lot better if you've been looking over the GOP National Committee stable first.

Taking a quick glance at some pending legislation in Congress, the prospect is now good that the British loan will go through. Probably France will get smaller credits also, and later on General George Marshall is going to fight for rehabilitation loans to China. As to the minimum-wage bill, it's hard to see how it can be rescued from the inflationary farm-parity rider that has been put on it. In fact, the time is just about due for a big new inflationary drive in Congress. President Truman's three-point defense program, announced at Chicago, has different prospects for each measure: there's a good chance that unification will be achieved, with closer land, sea and air integration under one civilian cabinet member, though the Navy is still fighting against it; draft extension will probably go through in modified form; on the other hand, most observers think passage of a universal service bill unlikely.

On the labor front, the Senate has now passed, 47 to 3, the "anti-Petrillo bill," which had previously passed the House by 186 to 6. The Senate debate showed the bill up as the phony it is. The language is loose; it is probably unconstitutional; and it looks to this observer like another Smith-Connally spite bill, not likely to be very effective even if it is repassed over a possible presidential veto. James Caesar Petrillo is no hero of ours, but it is hard to see that this bill is any solution for the basic problem involved, which is Musicians v. Juke Boxes, or Man v. Machines.

Two other pending bills fall into a pattern interesting to explore. Nowadays, when big industries are threatened with anti-trust suits headed for the Supreme Court, energetic lobbyists try to head off judicial decision by rushing through Congress special legislation exempting them from the law. This effort has been made in the insurance, petroleum and railroad industries.

Senator O'Mahoney blocked the bill exempting fire-insurance companies from the anti-trust law. The insurance people wanted to be regulated by weak state commissions rather than by the federal government. They declared that federal regulation was unconstitutional. When the government said, All right, let's have a Supreme Court test, the insurance people rushed an exemption bill through the House. O'Mahoney got a compromise, putting insurance companies under anti-trust laws in 1948, with immediate exemption while the states tighten their regulations.

Then came the Pauley tidelands-oil bill. This wasn't an anti-trust case, but involved the same issue of federal v. state control. Again the House rushed through an exemption bill after the federal case had been filed in the Supreme Court. It's still in the Senate.

The third issue is the Bulwinkle bill, which Nathan Robertson, almost alone, has been writing about in *PM*. Here again it's the same pattern. Governor Arnall of Georgia has brought a case to the Supreme Court charging carriers with anti-trust violations through rate agreements. Immediately a bill was shoved through the House to exempt carriers from the Act.

The Bulwinkle bill, and the so-called "Pauley" bill, are both pending in the Senate. It's a little surprising to see how easily this type of measure can be slipped through the House. Nobody seems to trust the Supreme Court.

Notes.—The federal budget is practically balanced; the Administration is in a position to announce the glad tidings, and it will make a good talking point in the fall elections. Unfortunately, congressmen will want to cut taxes when they hear the budget is balanced, which will unbalance it all over again—one reason why the Treasury is reticent. Our agreement with Iceland says troops can stay there until "the end of the present war"; the Icelandic government hasn't asked their withdrawal. . . . Truman put on a dozen or so pounds after New Year's, but is now back to his normal 170; that accounts for early-morning walks and horseshoe-pitching. . . . The Supreme Court last week upheld the Negroes' right to vote in Georgia Democratic primaries; Governor Arnall announces he will not be a party to a "subterfuge scheme" to vitiate the victory by repealing present primary laws.

Washington T. R. B.

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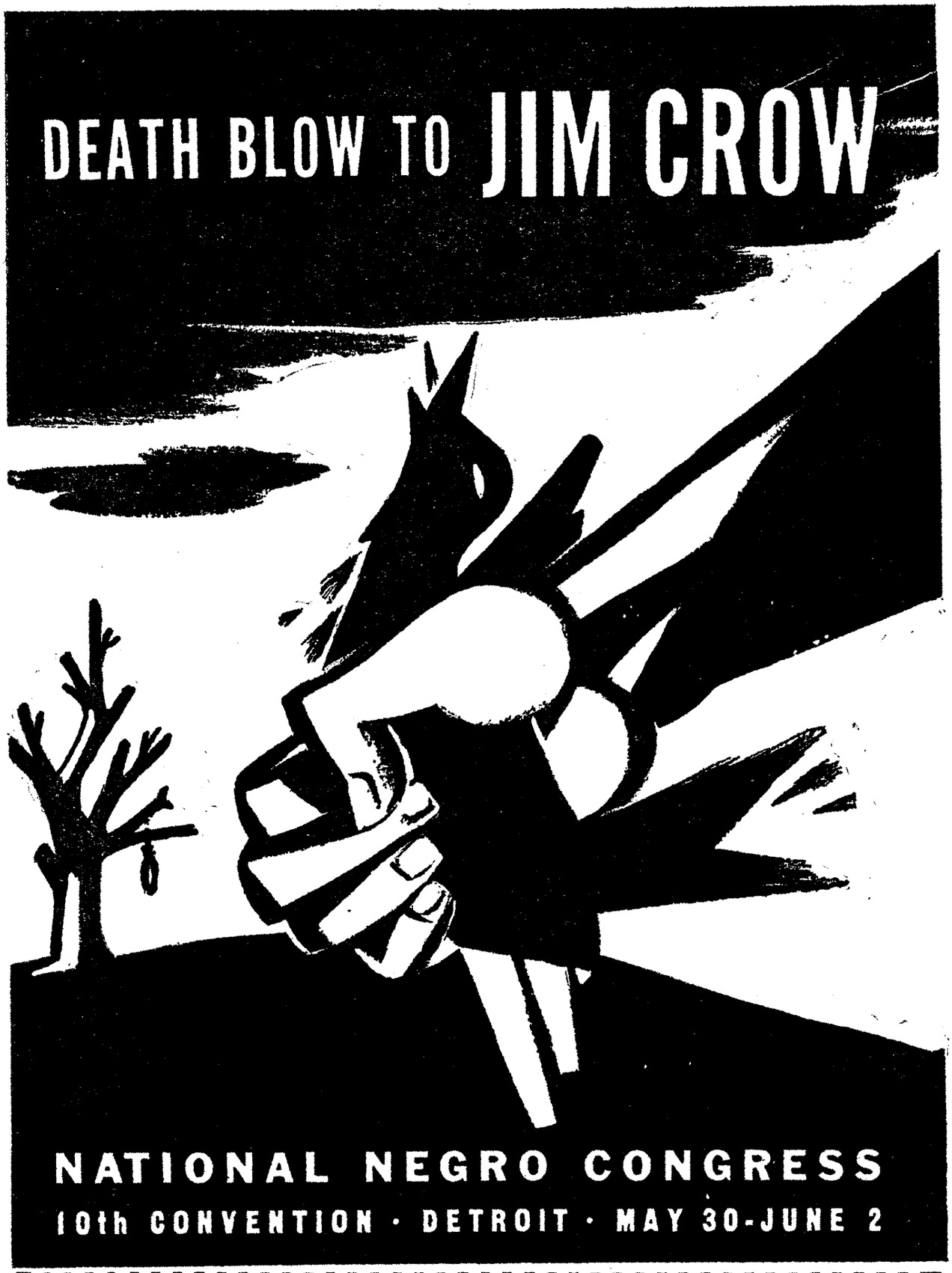

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The Bandwagon

The sportsman's life is a happy one. I incline to think it the happiest of imaginable lives although sometimes when looking, by way of a photograph, into the untroubled and confident eyes of Winston Churchill, I concede that a politician's life may run it a close second.—*From Henry McBride's column in the New York* Sun.

Paul Koerner, intimate of Goering since 1926, told the Tribunal that the former Reichsmarshal intervened against the Nazi Party purge twelve years ago and that he created concentration camps only to reëducate enemies of the state—*From the New York* Post.

GM President Regrets
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Claims Leaders Can Make Better Decisions Than Government.—*Head and subhead in the Philadelphia* Record.

Nuff Sed

She [Princess Elizabeth of England] will make her own decision when the moment comes for her to choose a husband, but she will do it with her Uncle David's fate in mind.—*From the New York* Times Sunday Magazine.

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Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.*—THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Tax to Stop Inflation

SIR: It seems to me that in "Thirty-nine Economists Against Inflation" (the *New Republic*, February 18), you should have clearly differentiated between the money and credit inflation we already have, as a result of deficit financing, and the effect of this inflation upon prices which we have only deferred to the future. Economists generally define inflation as an increase in the amount of money and credit in relation to the amount of goods and services that are available. We have such inflation *now*. We have temporarily deferred its effect upon prices by urging people to save their money and withhold purchases of goods.

The American people need to be told that the increase in purchasing power does not represent goods and services which can be purchased. It represents goods and services which have been destroyed. The effect of this abnormal amount of liquid purchasing power on prices cannot be prevented permanently. There is only one thing to do and that is to destroy it by equitable taxation and thus prevent our over-expanded monetary medium from over-expanding or inflating the prices of goods and services, if it is released into the channels of trade.

It is popularly argued that the answer is to increase production. The Cleveland Trust *Bulletin* comments on this fallacious reasoning by saying, "When reconversion has been completed, and production and trade are again functioning in a normal manner, we shall be producing a very large volume of goods and services. All the purchasing power needed to buy those goods will be created automatically by the process of producing them and distributing them. In normal times, when a million new automobiles are manufactured and sold, the purchasing power necessary to buy them is simultaneously created and distributed."

The inflated purchasing power of liquid savings we have as an aftermath of the war should and must be destroyed by graduated taxation; its ultimate effect in inflating prices can only be prevented by so doing. New production is no answer to solving the problem of the inflated savings we have inherited from the war, since new production will produce its own additional purchasing power. I cannot but ask where these 39 economists and others were when the fight was on to persuade Congress to adopt a pay-as-we-fought policy which would have prevented our building these inflated amounts of purchasing power to curse us in the years ahead. So far as I know, I was one of the very few who testified before the congressional committees to advocate that we pay as we fought in money, as we were compelled to pay in goods and services. That was the time to stand up and be counted and prevent the disasters we now have ahead of us as a result of practising deficit financing.

E. R. BOWEN, General Secretary,
Chicago, Ill. Coöperative League of the United States

Watchman, What of Anti-Trust?

SIR: Two items in the *New Republic* of March 11 are sufficiently interesting and important to require elaboration.

What is the New Council of American Business, who are moving spirits in it, and what is its platform in full? Some of your readers might wish to encourage and support this new attack on monopoly, as you call it.

More should be said about Tom Clark, Attorney General, and the total lack of interest he has displayed in the eighty-odd suits against monopolies which were carefully prepared by Thurman W. Arnold. The war necessitated postponement of the proceedings planned by Arnold, but is Tom Clark to be allowed to consign the papers and data to the lumber-room and forget everything about them? After all, Truman has the last word on the subject. Can't he order Clark to bring the suits and make a real, honest fight? He has, we understand, competent and energetic assistants. Are they muzzled and gagged?

If we are not going to scrap the Anti-Trust Act, suits should be instituted and pressed. What does the New Council of American Business think about these questions? Would it consider these lawsuits a sort of "turning back the clock in our industrial development?" If so, what action *does* it actually propose on the part of the government?

La Jolla, Calif. VICTOR S. YARROS

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Robert Johnson writes from New York City, taking the army caste system as a premise, and says that too few soldiers have realized that the counterpart of "Officers Only" signs has existed all during peacetime in "White Only" signs. Mr. Johnson calls for strong national and individual action against segregation of the colored races and for equalizing educational and vocational opportunities now.

Michael Altschuler of New York City suggests the formation of a United Nations Producers' Corporation to "operate as a business with a social purpose," to bring members of different nations into closer contact and to use excess profits for international welfare.

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Books in Review

In Defense of Puerto Rico

[Late last year appeared Mr. Wenzell Brown's *Dynamite on Our Doorstep*, a sensational "exposé" of contemporary Puerto Rico. The *New Republic* asked one of its contributing editors, who is also the Governor of Puerto Rico, to comment on Mr. Brown's charges.—THE EDITORS]

MR. WENZELL BROWN is a Dickensian character. But the book he has written about Puerto Rico[1] illustrates, I think, the truism that characters, Dickensian or otherwise, ought to stay in books rather than write them. The allusion, by the way, is rather exact. Wrapped in an antique greatcoat, Mr. Brown could easily pass for Mr. Weller, father of the immortal Sam. And Mr. Weller's knowledge of the world which he distributed so freely was not too different from Mr. Brown's knowledge of Puerto Rico—that is to say, it rested on a very special experience. Like Mr. Weller's, too, it was expressed in cracks calculated to seem satisfactory to those who were convinced to begin with. From what we know of him down here, Mr. Brown's wisdom is about at the Weller level.

Mr. Brown did not care for Puerto Rico. It was, for one thing, unlike the part of the United States from which he came; and for another, he made out rather poorly. There are, all over Puerto Rico, the remnants of those annual migrations from small towns on the continent whose members were, in former years, imported to teach English to an unwilling population which fiercely fancies its Spanish. Any Puerto Rican will make an hour's speech on the subject of these *importados* if anyone will listen. But the speech will not be made in English, in spite of 42 years' indoctrination.

Not all these outsiders were disliked. Many of them, like Mr. Thomas Hayes, librarian of the University, who came from Maine, or Mr. William O'Reilly, professor of English at the University, whose translation from Massachusetts to Cabo Rojo has been turned into literature in both languages, became part of the Puerto Rican community, regarded with affection if not with gratitude. And they have made a kind of life which has its satisfactions even if it lacks any really deep roots.

Puerto Ricans have the usual human capacity for affection, but Mr. Brown seems not to have generated much, though that seems to bother him less, in recollection at least, than lack of gratitude for his efforts. This is so obvious from every page of his book that I have been surprised to learn of its serious acceptance in the continental United States as a documentary account of life on our Caribbean island. It is, in fact, a caricature, one which originated in disappointment, frustration and a resentment which seems gradually to have softened; for the later chapters, written after he revisited the scenes he had described in his first chapters from memory, are notably less bitter and sometimes thoughtful. But the first ones, written in recollection of his unhappy years among foreigners, express a fury which is at once devious and simple, that is to say that even if it emerges as a book, it clearly began as a spiritual wound. He was getting even, on every page, with those who had made him suffer. It therefore reveals something about Mr. Brown but nothing about Puerto Rico.

The danger in such an externalization of an internal injury is just this—that it will be taken as a documentary exposition of the object which has caused the hurt. In this case the publishers have lent themselves to misleading sensationalism by adopting the title and making it titillatingly scary for *Americanos*.

Dynamite is explosive and dangerous. And there are explosive possibilities in Puerto Rico (though not so many, probably, as, say, in Detroit), but if an explosion should occur it could not hurt anyone but the Puerto Ricans themselves, a fact of which, with Latin shrewdness, they are well aware. Their fulminations are kept pretty much under control.

Puerto Ricans know perfectly well that they are not really dynamite on our doorstep, because the nation has no real interests to be injured. Any economic examination will show, of course, that milling concerns, meat packers, rice and bean growers and the makers of shoddy clothes and shoes have a secure market here so long as the flag covers their operations; and that the shipping companies and air lines allocate Puerto Rican business as though it were a private preserve. But what these special interests gain by their exploitation is more than balanced by expense to the nation as a whole. Successive federal relief agencies have, for a decade, contributed many millions; and federal aids are extended for health, education, road building, vocational education, agricultural extension and so on, although Puerto Ricans are exempt from all the United States taxes which would justify them. The balance in favor of Puerto Rico runs somewhere in the neighborhood of $50 million a year.

So Puerto Rico, rather than the United States, stands to lose by any incident which would lead to separation. This does not mean that there are not Puerto Ricans whose pride, combined with a natural and almost universal provincialism, will cause them to spit in a Yankee eye on occasion. Often there is the kind of provocation which can be imagined—Americans in the presence of "foreigners" are not apt to be at their most attractive. And the response to superiority ought in any people of account to be an effort to puncture it. But anyone who will talk on even terms with the worker in the fields (the *agregado*), the farmer in the hills (the *jibaro*), or the industrial worker (the *obrero*), will find seven times out of ten—or more—that one of his deepest fears is a fear of separa-

[1] Dynamite on Our Doorstep, by Wenzell Brown. New York: Greenberg Publishers. 301 pages. $2.75.

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tion. The people are a lot wiser than the talkative small *políticos* who are so vocal for independence.

Mr. Brown caught the human, the fugitive, the superficial dislike of foreigners which exists in Puerto Rico, as indeed it does to a degree everywhere, and made it the theme of a riotous book. But he failed to penetrate to Puerto Rican instincts and deep wisdoms. Down there it is known that Puerto Rico stands to gain from more, not less, unity in this newly dangerous world.

Puerto Ricans are not all psychopaths. It is true, however, that the tensions are higher, the boiling point lower, here, than in most communities. After some years of association with them I think I can list some of the reasons for this—not necessarily in the order of their importance:

1. Insularity. Any island, especially a small and densely inhabited one, would probably have the same inward turning, the same tendency to glorify mediocre achievements because they are local, the same attempt to escape external competition by excluding foreigners from equal opportunity with natives, and the same protective false pride, as are found in Puerto Rico. But we have done very little to modify these natural tendencies.

2. Economic dependency. Puerto Rico annually produces about a million tons of sugar for which American consumers pay nearly $20 million more than they would need to pay for "foreign" sugar. This—and other similar favors—makes of Puerto Rico a satellite. Instead of accepting this situation with proper gratitude and humility, many Puerto Ricans are inclined to chew at the bit which confines them. They, like others, would rather have their oats without helping to pull the plow.

3. Political uncertainty. Instead of having a proper Colonial Office with provision for continuity of policy, for non-political administrators and all the other appurtenances of a responsible imperium, the United States governs its territories and possessions by the authority of the Organic Acts, whose provisions center the authority—and almost the governing—of the territories in committees of Congress. Between them, the House and Senate committees have 41 members, each of whom has great power over insular affairs. Unfortunately, this power is often used in unpredictable, whimsical and wholly irresponsible ways, with a view to its effect on home politics rather than to its effect in the territory. The demoralization of political and economic life in Puerto Rico during a period of unusual committee activity, such as we had almost throughout the war, is something unimaginable at home. To the Puerto Ricans it is an incredible indignity that their fate should be so lightly determined—and by a nation with the pretensions to democracy which the United States has always professed.

4. Second-class citizenship. It is not one of our more refulgent glories that we become especially generous to dependent peoples when we have need of their friendship. To show that this is true, one need only cite our recent good-will antics in South America. An earlier instance was our hasty conferring of citizenship on Puerto Ricans in 1917 just as we were getting into an earlier war and were worried about the Caribbean. So Puerto Ricans have been citizens since then—second-class citizens who cannot vote at national elections and have no voting representation in Congress. With a population of two million, they would have two Senators and seven Representatives, if they were full citizens; and then they might have some weight in affairs which affect them. As it is, they have one Resident Commissioner who cannot vote even in the committees of which he is allowed to be a member.

5. Discrimination. Puerto Ricans are justifiably annoyed by the tendency in the United States to regard them as subject to discrimination. Not infrequently I have had to equip officials of the Insular government with special papers merely to ensure their expedition through the port of Miami on their way to Washington, and have had to arrange for them to stay in private houses in Washington. As another instance, the Navy, in spite of my repeated protests and in spite of efforts made by President Roosevelt himself, refused to accept Puerto Ricans during the war. Except for a few in the officer class (sons of the rich) or a few who may have got in through being resident in the United States, there were no Puerto Ricans—an insular people—in the Navy during the war. There were some 70,000 of them in the Army.

These are a few of the grievances which I think Mr. Brown does not sufficiently emphasize. I am not trying to say that there is justification for the hysterical conduct of practically all his characters, for this would be to admit their typicality. I am trying to say that hysteria would be understandable if it existed—and that most of it would not be attributable, as he implies, to racial feeling, to an unusual bias against outsiders or to a "colonial complex," but to rather easily retrievable mistakes of a conquering nation which was too careless either to let go or to govern. It is just this which is most inexcusable—American carelessness. Mr. Brown says it in his later pages, and says it rather clearly, but what has been gone through to get there has made it impossible for so mild a conclusion to be absorbed.

I wish there were space to be constructive here. There is a patient kindness, together with a quick spirit, in so many Puerto Ricans who have nothing in this world but a shack on a hillside that the miracle of their sweetness always defeats my attempts to describe it. They are unaccustomed, many of them, to the ordinary things of this civilization. They sometimes do not possess a hammer, perhaps not even a hoe. They live strictly at the sufferance of the nature which produces the green banana, the breadfruit and the *ñame*. They never have quite enough to eat. They die comparatively young because malnutrition complicates any disease they may have. But they have many children, love them deeply and do what they can and know how to do for them. They are gifted with a natural politeness which is more than manners. It is an acceptance of the rules by which affairs are run. And except in passion or in alcohol, they would as soon cut off an arm as harm anyone.

Because of their closeness to nature, and the long, slow rhythm of their daily work, they think a good deal with the materials at their disposal. They are mercilessly ex-

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ploited not only by those for whom they work but by many of the small *politicos*, who live, as everywhere, by demagoguery when they can. But underneath they have a stubborn sense of what is true and what is false. They are so much worthwhile that I am ashamed of my country, sometimes, for not having cared enough to do something for them besides hand out relief and use them for political advantage. I am humiliated that, having been Governor for almost five years, I have not been able to make some considerable change in this. Perhaps no one could. Some day our careless grasp will simply slip and the power we let go will fall into the *campesinos'* hands. Then we shall see whether they, together with the group of young administrators we have trained lately and put into positions of importance, will be able to find a destiny worthy of their quality.

Puerto Rico comprises one of those small groups of people, of whom there are many in the world, who are tied by destiny to a larger entity. The process of working out a satisfactory organization of the relationship is a matter in which only a few of us happen to be interested. And we are hampered by the weight given by others to comparatively trivial rival considerations or by their complete indifference. Trying to do something under these circumstances is like punching a pillow: nothing ever seems to be accomplished. Something—the wrong thing, perhaps—finally happened in the case of the Philippines, and doubtless something will happen in the case of Puerto Rico. But it seems awfully slow in coming.

REXFORD G. TUGWELL

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Atomata

In the Name of Sanity, by Raymond Swing. New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 161 pages. $1.
Science, Liberty and Peace, by Aldous Huxley. New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 86 pages. $1.
Manifesto for the Atomic Age, by Virgil Jordan. New Brunswick, N. J.: The Rutgers University Press. 70 pages. $1.50.
Some Political Consequences of the Atomic Bomb, by E. L. Woodward. New York and London: The Oxford University Press. 30 pages. 25 cents.

A GOOD DEAL of the comment on the menace of the atomic bomb has sounded like the turmoil in a chicken yard at the shadow of a hawk: as justified, and as little relevant to the problem. We are startled by the indubitable peril. We are told that it is certain to get us unless we do something drastic. Whatever is done must be done at once, or it will be too late. Squawking and scurrying, we flutter about, but to what purpose? The shadow momentarily floats away, and we return to scratching for worms and re-establishing our peck order of dominance.

Here are four small books by men of four kinds, each of whom has a reputation for understanding and leadership. The authors are stirred, perhaps more than most of us, by the crisis. They have a sense of responsibility; they want to tell us what it means, what we should do, and how. These books can be read in less than a day. To think about them takes longer. The reviewer has spent a week-end with them, and recommends the same course to others.

Raymond Swing has done his level best, which is a good deal, to illuminate the recent history and nature of atomic fission, the necessity of civilian control by a democratic agency, the folly of trying to keep a nonexistent secret and the need of surrendering at least enough sovereignty to an international government so that no national state shall henceforth have the power to make war. It is vivid, logical, forceful. Others argue to the same effect and have a large and convinced following. It is not impossible that public opinion in Britain and the United States will before too long be won for this course.

Aldous Huxley is afraid of centralized power. He deplores the fact that the fruits of science have been used to increase control by those who wield power. He wants the scientists henceforth to dedicate their energies to peace and human liberty, a goal which he thinks is to be won by local self-sufficiency of nations, towns, groups. Stop inventing gadgets and deflate mass production. Reduce international trade to a minimum. Don't fool around with atomic energy, even for industrial power. It is difficult to understand how Mr. Huxley thinks such a goal could be achieved, even admitting its desirability. I find it incomprehensible that a man supposed to be capable of penetrating thought should simultaneously hold these views and advocate international government—as Mr. Huxley does.

Virgil Jordan has always been apocalyptic. He is really more a minor prophet than an economist; he has foreseen doom in unemployment insurance, collective bargaining, minimum wages—indeed in most of the changes which progressives have regarded as improvements. With the atomic bomb he goes completely overboard. He admits the danger

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of human extinction, but this is not what chiefly concerns him. Like Mr. Huxley, he is worried about the nature of man. Mechanical power and science freed man from tyranny of government, so that individuals could have significance. But recently productive facilities have grown so rapidly that we have had to fall back on controls and state distribution. Atomic power and the transmutation of elements which goes with it will finish the process. Values and private property henceforth will be meaningless; there will be no premium on effort or skill. Status and perhaps serfdom will again replace contract, man will sink into passivity, dependence and regimentation. He ends with a pun—will the new atom around us destroy the old Adam within us? Can man survive not merely as a species but as a spirit?

Professor Woodward's pamphlet taps more resources of learning than the other three. He comes to the new crisis with a rich knowledge of history, a seasoned insight into society and man's collective behavior. Though the choice is between good and evil, no one can be sure that man will not choose evil, not because man is necessarily more bad than good, but because he sometimes brings evil upon himself against his will and by the very means he takes to avert it. The temptations of power are great. We cannot assume that the human creature is "infinitely and immediately amenable to successive revolutions in technology." Mr. Woodward is aware, as Mr. Huxley is not, of the intricate interdependence of civilization. Destroy the cities, and we might be no better able to organize recovery than a finely bred dog could survive in a jungle.

Is there no escape? This author sees little chance in any one of the four clear-cut proposals with regard to the bomb. Of course not to attempt control would lead to disaster. Control by one nation is insupportable. World government "may well come in the future, and when it comes, it may turn out to be a gross and fearful tyranny. This future world government may not even prevent war; it may only make all war into civil war." But we can't have it now anyway; neither the United States nor Russia would consent. What then, about control by the Security Council of the UN? This, he demonstrates in some detail, is full of hazards and difficulties.

Professor Woodward is playing no favorites. He does not oppose others' recommendations to exalt a pet solution. But he is not hopeless. We need not despair just because there is "no foolproof safety device." The wise course is not to attempt too much, remembering that man has both limitations and capacities. We may still do something with collective security, especially since the new development can increase the power of nations of the middle rank. And we must always be on our guard against the abuse of power by the state, which is bound to be exalted by this new discovery.

It is clear that these sincere and able men do not agree at all points. There is need for more thought, and minds open to it, while emergency measures are improvised. This is a subject which precipitates mysteries with which the human spirit has long wrestled and will wrestle for years to come, if universal disaster does not intervene. Glibness will not serve.

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once pooled under international sovereignty. Then let us suppose Russia declines to permit inspection within her borders. Are we to take this as proof that Russia plans aggression, and so rush into catastrophe?

We of the West do not wish to be ruled by a one-party dictatorship. Russia obviously fears that the Western world will fail to subdue the weaknesses of an economic and political system which she regards as moribund, and that, thrashing about in its extremity, it will turn on her. We cannot reassure her by proclaiming our good intentions. What men of good will intend is no safe guide to what may happen. Nothing is more obvious than that she has resolved to keep her powder dry.

International government would certainly, as Ernest Bevin has said, have to depend on a democratically elected assembly, if it were to be safe. We have much to learn about democracy, even in the countries where it is most advanced. Look at Congress, and our representation from the Southern states. See, day by day, what it does with our future.

Is it not possible that the atom bomb is not so much a new problem as a warning that we should get on with the problems we have long had? It may be essential for this purpose, too, to learn how to prevent unemployment in a highly productive democracy, to instill more capacity and responsibility into our representative institutions, to develop a dependable science of human behavior by a marriage of psychology with politics and economics. Man can control the bomb when he learns how to understand and control himself. He cannot do it through being awestruck by a gargantuan explosion.

We should think what it is we are trying to preserve. Merely our continued existence? We must all die in one way or another. Our children? They must, too. Deadly danger cannot be wished away. Huxley and Jordan are right in directing attention to the quality of life, though I think each in his own way wrongly interprets the conditions of individual fulfilment. What are we to do about the power of some men over others? How is each to achieve security, significance, dignity? All these issues and more will be involved if we are first to use government to control the atom, and then are to prevent government and the atom from using and debauching us. GEORGE SOULE

Cherchez La Femme

Woman As a Force in History: A Study in Traditions and Realities, by Mary R. Beard. New York: The Macmillan Company. 369 pages. $3.50.

LIKE the prophet Jonah, Mary Beard is very angry. First of all, her indignation falls upon those who use the word *man* loosely, at times to mean a human being, and, perhaps in the same sentence, to denote the male of the species. Dean Christian Gauss, among others, gets his fingers sharply rapped. It is a pity we have no convenient term corresponding to *homo* or *Mensch*. The ingenious minds who presented us with the word *sibling* might help us in this case. We shall have to muddle through. Frank Lloyd Wright was justified in quoting the ancient jest (in *Punch*, it is invariably ascribed to the bashful curate), "Man is meant to embrace woman." We are told Mary Beard frowned; and we can easily believe it.

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Next Mary Beard pours the vials of her wrath upon reformers—feminists, radicals, communists, Mary Wollstonecraft, John Stuart Mill and their brood, who urge that woman should be emancipated from her age-long servitude. Nonsense! This is the "tradition" at odds with "reality." Woman never was enslaved. (As M. de Buffon *almost* said: "Man's noblest conquest—I mean the horse, for woman is only partly tamed.") But Mary Wollstonecraft had it on the authority of Blackstone: "The very being or legal existence of woman is suspended during the marriage," and Blackstone, perhaps even more in America than in England, was for a century the law and the prophets. So Mary Beard turns savagely on Blackstone and tears him limb from limb, in 128 pages. He hardened and distorted the English Common Law; he failed to take into account Equity and Legislation, which were considerably more liberal. I chuckled over that masterly execution. For Blackstone had always been one of my *"pierres noires."* His *Commentaries* appeared in 1765; they were part of the antiquarian romantic rebellion against the Enlightenment. They sought to enthrone tradition in place of reason. The trend was admirably defined by Burke, when he extolled "the wisdom of prejudice." I believe with Emery Reves that civilization will resume its normal progress when we return to the pre-Blackstone, pre-Burke, pre-de Maistre, pre-Savigny rationalism of Voltaire and Jefferson.

Mary Beard's demonstration is learned and convincing. Blackstone's masculinist doctrine never covered the whole of real life. The *subjection* of woman has been greatly exaggerated. At all times, most men treated their mothers, sisters, wives, daughters decently. The method used in these vigorous and cogent chapters would be valid against many other lurid caricatures of history. Wage slavery never was so abysmal as it appears from the soap-box. Not all overseers were Simon Legrees. There was simple happiness as well as a brilliant culture under the worst of the Czars. The French Ancient Regime evolved a "sweetness of life" of which there is no trace in *A Tale of Two Cities*. The Middle Ages were by no means darkness absolute. The Germans, in 1914, did not spend their time chopping off the hands of Belgian children. But, all melodramatic distortions eliminated, what remains in sober truth?

Blackstone thus annihilated, Mary Beard turns to the positive aspect of the problem: Woman as Force in History. The crucial instance is "Woman in the Age of Faith," the thirteenth century. As she could be neither a fighting man-at-arms nor a priest, it would seem that her position was subordinated indeed. Yet Mary Beard has no difficulty in showing what a great place woman held in that glorious epoch: the Virgin was more vivid in the popular mind than the Trinity. I think Mary Beard's case is clear. She does not strengthen it by choosing as her guide the brilliant, willful and unsafe Henry Adams. For the gist of Adams' thesis is *thirteenth-century unity;* and there was no age—not even our own—so complex, so incoherent, so sharply divided against itself. This is particularly manifest in the woman question. Woman, like her prototype the Virgin, stands for ideal virtue, mercy, the strength that lies in purity, *turris eburnea;* but she is also the devil's gateway, *janua diaboli,* and it is not quite certain that she has a soul. We find the conflicting trends in the same poet. Chaucer was heir to the double tradition when he told us

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with unction the tale of patient Griselde and when, in the rollicking, ribald *Envoy*, he roars lustily at all that sentimental nonsense.

Mary Beard poses one of the great problems of history; she does not even attempt to solve it; but to state it so forcibly is merit enough. If we list in parallel columns the *recorded* achievements of either sex, we find between the two a vast discrepancy. What is the cause? The bias and ignorance of historians? Most of them neglect such worthies as Christina Ebner, Marguerite Porette and Colette of Corbie. The popular kind—down to Stefan Zweig—are interested first of all in the *vamp*, Cleopatra, Theodora, Mary Queen of Scots, Madame de Pompadour, Marie-Antoinette, Josephine. (I am surprised Mary Beard did not mention Michelet: under the influence of his second wife, he became painfully conscious of "woman as a force in history.") The congenital inferiority of woman? (Brilliant exceptions would not invalidate the rule.) The unjust subjection of woman? (This hypothesis Mary Beard rejects.) Or the fact that woman's greatest achievements are not of the kind that crash the gates of history? To be immortalized by textbook writers is not a sure test of excellence. There were millions of German women superior in intelligence and character to Adolf Hitler. The Eternal Feminine, in which Dante and Goethe believed, does not make those permanent and delusive headlines we call history.

The problem began with the dawn of time. On the sixth day, the Lord created man in his own image: *male and female created He them*, coeval and co-equal. But Lilith unaccountably drops out of the tale (to be picked up six thousand years later by Professor John Erskine); and after an undefined delay, the Lord creates Eve—to misquote Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "for Adam's express company." Is modern woman the daughter of Lilith or the daughter of Eve? I wonder. ALBERT GUÉRARD

Iconoclast with Humor

Confessions of a European Intellectual, by Franz Schoenberner. New York: The Macmillan Company. 315 pages. $2.75.

BECAUSE no fanfares, prizes and advance movie sales have heralded this pleasantly informative book of memoirs, many people may miss it. This would be a pity. Publishing being what it is, many a good book gets lost in the shuffle, simply because the current sensations occupy all available advertising space. These *confessions*, I hope, will be read and appreciated by all those who like to watch someone smashing clichés and annihilating prejudices without ever becoming a bore. Mr. Schoenberner will anger many because he doesn't fit into any accepted literary or political mold: here is a German with an Anglo-Saxon sense of humor, an anti-Nazi who said so, in print, before our "Exterminate all Germans" brigade had heard of Hitler; here is a truly liberal crusader without puritanical austerity, enjoying the good things in life and literature. He is a kind of European Philip Wylie without his zealotry.

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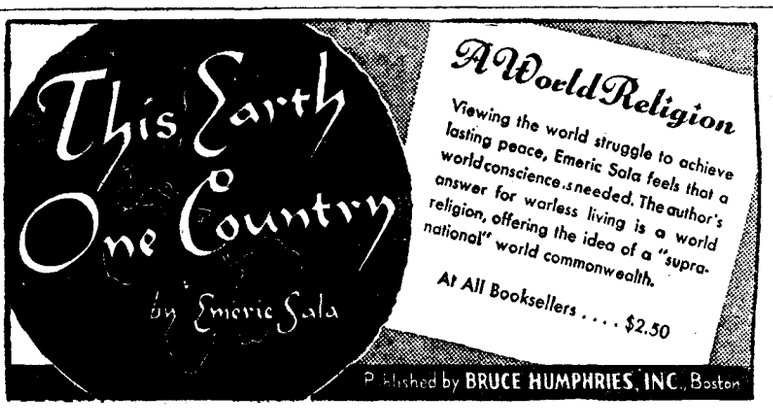
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A Statement of Faith

by

THE NEW REPUBLIC

WE PUBLISH the *New Republic* because we believe with all our will and all our strength that the liberal spirit of America is the hope of the world.

Militant liberalism is our passion and our faith. We want to lead in the struggle for true freedom and for lasting peace.

We believe that true freedom requires effective democratic government able to provide the opportunity for a full life for all of its citizens.

We believe that lasting peace requires a strong world organization. We will work for full support of the United Nations, and for the strengthening of the United Nations by the common action of its members, until it is able to enforce peace, and to abolish the causes of war.

We are independent. We stand for no one individual, group, or nation, right or wrong. We reassert our right to criticize as a basic democratic right. We believe in the Four Freedoms and in One World. We will support forces which work for these principles, and criticize those which work against them, whether they be Soviet or American, progressive or conservative.

We will be militant. We recognize that independence is not a final aim. We will do everything within our power to create from the liberal spirit of our people a liberal movement, organized for political action and conscious of its responsibility to the world.

We will not bind ourselves to any rigid doctrine or party. We fought for the principles of Franklin Roosevelt in the past. We will go on fighting for those principles, determining our political stand by political needs.

This is our covenant with the readers of the *New Republic* that we intend to keep. We are in earnest. We will not equivocate. We will not excuse, and we will be heard!

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folds a vast panorama of German intellectual life between the two world wars; he shows how German publishers during this period were more international-minded than those in any other country; he gives the most concrete examples of how Nazism began and grew and spread its roots. The dogmatic-minded will resent him, because he refuses to submit to an all-embracing formula. The author would be the last to say so, but here is a kind of *Middletown*, German version, a solid sociological study hiding behind an abundance of amusing anecdotes. Since confessions permit an author to roam where he pleases, he pauses occasionally to treat a subject at greater length, and these essays reveal a remarkable literary taste and a rare maturity of judgment. There is an essay on anti-Semitism during the Weimar Republic—not, thank God, an academic study with statistics and argument-proof figures, but a cool, detached analysis by someone who has spent more than the two years at a German university which seem to be the basis of so many books on Germany. He shows which parts of the population were susceptible to anti-Semitism and which weren't (there were no "restricted hotels" in Germany at that time), and how, after inflation and depression, the anti-Jewish propaganda was able to succeed. A particularly fascinating essay, analyzing some of Dostoevsky's less pleasant traits, will undoubtedly enrage those to whom everything Russian and neurotic is sacred; there is a treatise on homosexuality which will shock the puritanical and one on Knut Hamsun which, I think, will shock no one.

Mr. Schoenberner had an excellent observation post. After having served as editor of several weeklies, he became one of the guiding spirits of the satirical periodical, *Simplicissimus*, which lampooned militarism, reactionaries, stuffiness, subservience, provincialism and Nazism, mostly in cartoons—a German equivalent of the famous Parisian *Canard Enchaîné*. Battling bravely, *Simplicissimus* attacked Hitlerism up to the very moment when its editors, among them the author of this book, had to hide from the Gestapo. The magazine became nazified and lost its popularity. Totalitarianism and satire don't go together. Mr. Schoenberner went to France and from there to the United States. His star cartoonist, Th. Th. Heine, fled to Norway. *Simplicissimus* died.

Yet there isn't a trace of bitterness in these memoirs. Unpretentious, undidactic and without political panaceas, they form, nevertheless, an excellent introduction to what is called today the "German problem." I hasten to add, however, that the book's appeal is by no means thus limited. Anyone who likes to be present when popular idols are being smashed, quietly but elegantly, and likes meeting an intelligent man with a sense of humor who knows how to write, will enjoy it.

RICHARD PLANT

New Republic News

The statement of faith by the editors in this week's issue is an honest statement. We believe that there will be no guarantee of peace until a world government is formed to enforce peace. We believe that a true world government will follow and not precede the emergence of one world society. We believe that that society is many years ahead, and that meanwhile a working compromise must be found between the diverse societies of the United Nations. We believe that only liberalism in America can provide that compromise. So we believe in American liberalism with an almost religious faith.

We believe that the spirit of America is essentially liberal, but that it is not being adequately expressed. We want to give adequate expression to it—with a readership at least three times our present size. We are trying to create an *NR* worthy of that readership. The recent changes in the *NR* are steps in that direction. The Roosevelt supplement is another step. If you believe in the *NR*, please help us, and send a subscription to a friend.

NR readers will miss the fourth instalment of our condensation of *The Age of Jackson* this week. They will find it again in next week's issue.

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IN MEMORIAM

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HIS DEATH, on the eve of the atomic era, made his loss even more acute, his shining goals more imperative of achievement. The choice before the world now is cooperation or death. The voice, the force, the personality, the dream of Franklin Delano Roosevelt must embrace and win the world, if we are not to go down into the jungle of hate, conspiracies, war, devastation and death.

STATESMEN and peoples, in all lands, follow the path blazed by Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Thereon are the mile-posts to a rich and bountiful world, with nature's bounty and man-made inventions and machines increasing her bounty manifold. That is the road to peace and prosperity and security.

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DURING THE YEARS OF CLOSE CONTACT AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE ENGLISH SPEAKING WORLD THE LATE PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT BECAME TO ME NOT ONLY A DEAR AND VALUED FRIEND BUT ALSO THE PERSONIFICATION OF THE FIRM AND BRAVE SPIRIT WHICH CHARACTERIZES THE AMERICAN PEOPLES STOP I RECALL HOW AT THE HEIGHT OF OUR PERIL IN THE DARK HOURS OF DUNKIRK HIS VOICE CAME TO US WITH MESSAGES OF CHEER AND HOPE FROM THE MORE FORTUNATE BUT NONE THE LESS ENDANGERED LAND ACROSS THE OCEAN STOP AND AS THE YEARS OF OUR LIFE-STRUGGLE PROGRESSED HE INSPIRED US ALL WITH WORDS AND DEEDS OF POWER AND UNDERSTANDING STOP HIS VISION AND HIS JUDGEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS HIS COMPREHENSION AND SYMPATHY FOR THE PROBLEMS OF THE ORDINARY MAN AND THE WARMTH AND HUMANITY OF HIS PERSONALITY ENDEARED HIM TO HIS OWN COUNTRYMEN AND TO ALL FELLOW-FIGHTERS IN THE GLORIOUS YEARS THROUGH WHICH WE HAVE TRAVELLED TO VICTORY STOP WE DO WELL TO HONOUR HIS NAME AND BE PROUD THAT WE HAVE LIVED IN HIS TIME=

WINSTON CHURCHILL.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 19, 1946

Dear Mr. Bliven:

I desire to congratulate THE NEW REPUBLIC on producing a special memorial supplement devoted to the memory of Franklin D Roosevelt. It will give an opportunity to many of those who knew him best to restate some of the qualities which placed him among the handful of men who led the civilized world in its successful fight against tyranny and enslavement.

The domestic principles and policies which were laid down and put into practice by President Roosevelt have come almost to be accepted as commonplace today. Yet they constitute a program of social reform and progress unequalled in the history of the United States. In a very practical sense, this program was a social revolution which swept out obsolete notions cluttering our economy and substituted a bold program of decisive action designed to improve the standard of living and the level of security of the common man.

In the foreign field President Roosevelt contributed more than any other man to the foundations of peace, international cooperation, and good neighborliness.

The best tribute that we who remain can pay to his memory is to carry on those principles and those policies for which he lived and gave his life. This Administration is determined to pay that kind of tribute to him.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Truman

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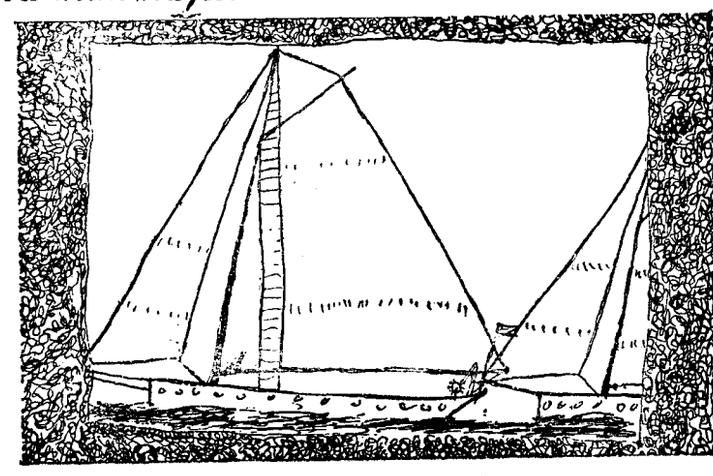
Gun & Squirrels

A good double-barrel breech loading gun & some cartridges are all one needs to go shooting; if one is after small birds or squirrels a number 20 or 16 is all one requires but if one is after larger game such as wild ducks, wild geese, partridges etc. a good no. 12 is the best. Smokeless powder is not as good as powder, with smoke although easier to clean & much pleasanter to use; there is an acid in it which eats the gun barrel. Of course it is much easier for poachers to use smokeless powder as the smoke never betrays them. Many Mammas think guns are very dangerous things & think they will go off without cartridges or without being cocked, but if properly handled they are not dangerous. Some boys if they saw a solitary squirrel would cock both barrels & on killing him with the first, would probably forget that the other barrel was cocked, & should he touch the trigger it would go off bang! Talking of squirrels, they are very quick & have sharp eyes & good ears. It is not always easy to stalk squirrels, especially gray ones, which try to hide from one by stretching themselves along the branches so that nothing but their bushy tails can be seen. Indeed I once heard of a man who shot a gray squirrel's tail quite off and left nothing but a stump! Flying squirrels may also be seen in the Hudson River Valley, travelling in families, but they are very scarce. They will run up a tree if chased & when at the top will launch themselves into the air & sail in a slanting direction to the foot of another tree & repeat the performance. They go with remarkable rapidity when chased and it is quite difficult to keep up with them. They do not have wings like bats as as some people suppose, but have a sort of network or membrane which they can extend at pleasure.

The gray squirrel is shyer than the red one & much larger. The red squirrel is a regular pest as he kills birds, sucks eggs, eats fruit & dozens of nuts & makes terrible holes in trees which causes them to decay. They are very cheeky little fellows. I have stood on the ground with a squirrel not more than six feet away from me, chattering loudly all the while. They also chase the gray ones, & I have heard of a small red squirrel chasing & killing a great big gray one! Squirrels are good to eat, especially the gray ones, & a ragout of Squirrel is quite a delicacy in some parts of the country. It is great fun shooting them & it is not very easy to get a shot at them while sitting still; when they fall they bump their head on the ground three times before they die. The old ones hold on to the branches & try to hide when wounded. I have fired at a squirrel 5 time & when he fell, I counted 31 shots in his body! The best thing to clean a gun with is some chamois skin, some old linen or cotton rags, a ramrod, a piece of silk & some gun oil. (never use sweet oil as it cakes on the barrel. When out in the rain be especially careful not to get the locks wet. When not in use it is better to keep the muzzle stopped up with tissue paper so that the dust does not get in.

MY DEAR MAMA. I WILL TELL YOU WHAT I WANT FOR CHRISTMAS. I WANT A BOX OF BLOCKS AND A TRAIN OF CARS AND SOME LITTLE BOATS BUT I THINK I DON'T WANT ANY THING ELSE GOOD BYE YOUR. LOVING

FRANKLIN



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HIS LIFE

A Dutchess County Boy

by Michael Straight

ON THANKSGIVING DAY, 1882, Franklin Roosevelt was ten months old. At Fairhaven, the Delano family met for Thanksgiving dinner and Franklin's uncle, Charles A. Robbins, stood up:

He wished to propose the health of one member of the Delano family [FDR] who, although the last to arrive in the world, would, he was certain, not prove one of the least in worth. He wished for him all health and happiness in his career and hoped that when the November days of his life should come he could say what his grandparents certainly may say, that his children and children's children rise up and bless him, and he hoped that the last of those November days might be, as in this year, days of Thanksgiving.

There was always a warm and close relationship in the family. Franklin returned it. At four, he wrote to his uncle, worried that a flag might have been left out in the spring storms. His uncle replied:

Algonac. May 9, 1886

My dear Franklin:

I got your letter last night and it came to me just as you thought it would, while Grandma, Grandpa and Aunt Anne and I were at dinner. You were thoughtful about the flag, just as I knew you would be, and you will be glad to know that Brown hauled it down and stowed it away safely before the storm began. . . . I am glad to hear that you can build a suspension bridge and I must come and see you make one. . . . Perhaps one of these days you will become an engineer and build great bridges and roads which will be a very good occupation. . . .

Your affectionate uncle,

FRED D. HITCH

His father was a country gentleman. His interests were wide, but he loved country living and early gave to Franklin a feeling for wild life. "Dear Mama," Franklin began a letter to his mother at five, "I went fishing yesterday afternoon with papa. We caught a dozen of minnows. . . ."

There was, for Franklin, the tobogganing in the winter at Hyde Park, and the long summers at Campobello. But both his parents insisted early on discipline and hard work. At seven he studied German and history with Miss Riensberg. In September, 1891, Mademoiselle Sandoz arrived at Hyde Park to take her place. She gave the nine-year-old boy French lessons in hymns, catechism, poetry, grammar, composition and history. In a brown book, in her precise hand, she marked him in each subject and kept her weekend notes on his progress and on the hard times he gave her:

28 Septembre	Rapport. Franklin travaille bien, mais l'obéissance hors des leçons laisse beaucoup à desirer.
5 Octobre	Bon travail et il y a du mieux dans l'obéissance.
12 Octobre	Le travail est toujours assez satisfaisant, mais 2 ou 3 fois Franklin a oublié de qui il est le fils. Je m'attends à mieux la semaine prochaine.
19 Octobre	Bien, sauf quelque manque de politesse.
26 Octobre	Bien, mais il faut tacher d'avoir un peu de patience à faire quelques efforts pour le français.
2 Novembre	Mauvaise semaine sous tous les rapports à part le dernier jour (6 mauvaises marques). Il y a des promesses de bonne conduite pour la semaine prochaine.
9 Novembre	Bien en général.
16 Novembre	Franklin m'a fait beaucoup de peine cette semaine.
23 Novembre	Bien.
30 Novembre	La conversation ne va pas bien et la musique n'est que passable en général.
7 Decembre	Assez bien. Il faudrait plus d'attention et beaucoup plus d'ordre dans les cahiers.
13 Decembre	Très bien.
4 Janvier 1892	Mauvaises marques et l'obéissance a été de plus mauvaise cette semaine. 7 M. Marques.
11 Janvier	4 mauvaises marques.
18 Janvier	Franklin manque d'attention et de politesse très souvent. 8 mauvaises marques.

That week Mademoiselle Sandoz apparently established a system of fines to bolster her failing authority. Fines of three, four and five cents a week appear on each weekly report, marked "Payé!" by Mademoiselle or by "F. D." "Beaucoup mieux," she notes in the first week of the new system. She continued to complain about Franklin's politeness; his French improved. Eventually the diary closed with Franklin's penciled note: "Fini le 16 Juin 1893. 4 cents payé."

In March, 1892, when he was just ten, Mademoiselle Sandoz gave him an examination. The first part dealt with classical history, the second with modern history. Some of the 70-odd questions show the prejudices and problems that a French governess passed

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on to her ward in 1892; and his answers and his mistakes indicate his knowledge at ten.

Q. La date de la grève de Waterloo?
A. 1815.
Q. La date de la grève de la Crimee?
A. 1854.
Q. Pourquoi cette dernière a-t-elle eu lieu?
A. Les Russes voulaient d'avoir la Turkey. Les autres pays n'ont pas voulu.
Q. De quelle parenté était Georges II à Georges III?
A. Petit-fils. (Grandpère!)
Q. Quelle était la cause de la guerre entre les Américains et les Anglais?
A. A cause des taxes.
Q. Qui a sauvé la France apres la révolution?
A. Napolion Bonaparte.
Q. Qu'était ce "Bill de Reform" que l'on a passé dans le régime de William IV?
A. Que les grandes villes pouraient envoyer des membres au Congress.

A harder examination was given to Franklin by the Mademoiselle in 1893. Soon after he wrote to Mr. and Mrs. Forbes:

April 7, 1893

My dear Aunt Doe and Uncle Will:

How are you? I hope you are flourishing but in case you are not well send word to me and I will send you some quack medicine called cod liver oil. I take it occasionally when my gout comes on and I recommend it to you. Thank you very much for the lovely stamp you sent me. I did not have it before. How soon are you coming back and what do you do all day long in hot China? I am sure you are having a lovely time and that you go to the race course every day. I have just finished my yearly examination. Have used up five books in four weeks but I do not feel a bit tired after my Herculean work!!! I have written a composition on stamps this time but I don't think it is as good as the one on boats. I hope very much that you will write to me and tell me all about your voyage and if you do I will write letters of 25 pages to you in return.

With much love and kisses to you both, I am your affectionate

nephew
F. D. R.

Another letter is full of the light-hearted spirit that filled all his days:

Campobello
September 10, 1892

My dear Aunt Doe:

I hope you are enjoying Nauheim as much as we enjoy being here but Mama and I are leaving next Wednesday to go to Fair Haven. When are you coming back? I think of you as being in the lovely baths just now or being rubbed by a filthy German woman; how do you like it? . . . Madame BBBB! I hear you are in the Villa Albion; I enjoyed it as Mark Twain had the same rooms some time ago.

. . . Mlle. hopes you are well and send you her sweetest remembrances. It is really mean of her. I am jealous. Please give my love to all the "oncles and tantes" who are at Nauheim and believe me

Your best of nephews
FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
Nilknarf Onaled Tlevesoor

His father always insisted that whatever Franklin did be done well. At thirteen he became a life member of the Museum of Natural History; from lectures there he gained a knowledge of geography, paraphrasing carefully a lecture on "Hawaii, the Paradise of the Pacific." At eleven, his father taught him how to handle a gun. In 1896 alone, he shot 26 kinds of birds for specimens. His mother describes, in *My Boy Franklin*, how he skinned and stuffed the first birds, turning a little green and sick, until he mastered the skill; he then limited himself to cataloguing each in Latin beneath its mount. They stand today in stiff attitudes in a case in the Hyde Park house. His notebooks are full of how he shot them:

Jan. 23, 1896, Weather cloudy.
Saw a flock of Pine Grosbeaks.
These birds were eating in the pine cones at the top of some large trees. They were all in gray plumage except one in whom the rusty red was very apparent in the sunlight. Shot at them and got some feathers but no birds.

Well schooled in French and German, he left in 1896 for one of many tours of Europe. He carried a Kodak with him and wrote comments under the photographs in his album. "Henly on Thames. Yale defeated! Leander defeated Yale 1¾ lengths." "Down" and "Through the center!" beneath pictures at football games. There are shots of Westminster Abbey, Aldershot, Strasburg, "Auf den Sandboten"; himself, cap in hand, with his half-grave, half-whimsical look. His mother describes her delight when he returned from one bicycle tour through Europe with his tutor, to give back part of his expense money.

His letters and studies at the Roosevelt Library trace his growth from the schoolboy in the turtle-necked sweater at Groton, to the handsome, confident student at Harvard. From the universalism and humanitarianism of the Dutchess County background, the liberal steps forth. It was typical that a composition for English 18 should be an appeal to Southern universities to forget the bitterness of the Civil War and follow Harvard's example in accepting Negro students. "Gentleman! Our friend Colonel X has touched on the subject on which we all feel strongly," it begins. It was an appeal to reason, and the professor commented at the end:

"This has the merit of vigor and directness. It is, from the intellectual point of view, persuasive. But can you by this and this alone make budge firm Southern prejudice?"

At twenty, Franklin Roosevelt could hardly answer. But he would keep on trying.

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A Day at Hyde Park

by Margaret L. Suckley

SOME OF HIS happiest hours were spent in his little open car, wandering about the country roads at Hyde Park or at Warm Springs with Fala leaning on the door, his bushy head blowing in the wind. Fala always *must* go along!

At Hyde Park the little blue car, top down, stands waiting at the door. In the house, FDR still sits talking at the table, his lunch finished, a cup of coffee before him and a lighted cigarette between his fingers. He loves good conversation and is loath to end an amusing or interesting hour. However, his cigarette burns out, the last drop of coffee disappears.

So FDR says goodbye to the guests as he is wheeled out into the front hall, the family and the visitors following. Fala appears from a quiet corner and reaches the open door before anyone else. Mr. Roosevelt says, "Fala, do you want to go for a drive?" Fala answers by dashing out into the front seat of the waiting car. Some of the visitors are going with the President—the others look on enviously as he starts off with a backward smile and wave of the hand.

He heads toward the gate, the long drive stretching straight out to the main road—but at the corner of the garden hedge he suddenly pulls his wheel sharply to the left: "Let's go down to the river!" Through the vegetable garden, down the steep hill, the Secret Service and State Police cars following, and into the forest. The car stops somewhere in the flitting shadows of tall evergreens and steep rocky declivities. FDR loves it there: the sun comes through the thick deep green only in shifting spots, and sparkles here and there in a pebbly brook that wanders by the road. There is a hush in the forest—no one speaks for a minute or two. Then FDR explains that this wood has never been cut, that no fallen tree or branch is removed unless it lies across the road. He hopes it will always be kept this way. Starting off again, he turns to the right on a steep, curving road past a gravel pit. He recalls with amusement that he once went into the pit to turn the car around, and was "lost" by the Secret Service men who passed the entrance without seeing him and "had a fit" before finding him, safe, back at the house.

Also along this part of the road he once planted California redwoods grown in his greenhouse from seeds. The experiment was exciting while the tiny seedlings flourished indoors, but they could not stand the winter cold of the woods.

From the forest the car winds down to the river, where it turns and starts back up the hill, across the public highway to the Christmas-tree plantations. FDR stops to talk to the men who are planting a new field. He inquires about their families, exchanges stories, makes plans for selling the young trees this winter and for planting new ones in the spring. . . . He seems to have all the time in the world. Fala gets a little bored and curls up on the seat. FDR lights a cigarette as he talks. His hand rests lightly on Fala's back for a moment or two as he tells him he's a "good dog."

On up the steep, winding road, FDR drives with a flourish around the circle to the door of his Hill Top Cottage. Once he is comfortably settled on a porch rocking-chair, he relaxes completely. He looks far off to the Catskills on the north, the Shawangunks to the west, the rolling, wooded hills and fields to the south, and seems completely happy and contented. "*Isn't* this nice, *isn't* this nice," he says half to himself. The sun is low and a chill comes from across the river. Someone suggests a fire and tea. FDR hates to leave the porch, but he also loves his place on the sofa next to the fireplace. While tea is being prepared from a picnic basket in the pantry, he looks about the room with a critical eye. He decides it is "just about perfect, subject to change." He has placed the furniture, he has had the pictures hung, he has chosen the books and ornaments, and has brought most of them here himself, bit by bit, on his many visits.

An electric toaster, slices of bread and some butter are put on a little table before him; this is *his* part of preparing tea. The fire crackles brightly, the sun is just setting over the hills, a cup of tea (with lemon and sugar) is very comforting, and the hot, freshly buttered toast is *so* good. Out of a clear sky FDR announces that he is going to build a house. Everyone looks surprised. Yes—FDR is going to build another house: This one will be like a tower, on the highest point back of Hill Top Cottage. It will have an elevator to the flat roof—the view will be even finer than that from here—FDR can almost see his finished tower! Another house is needed on the place, for he thinks it would be nice if there were one for each of his children.

The talk shifts to other subjects: FDR is "off the record," and by tacit consent no one brings up anything unpleasant or controversial. He is allowed to

Margaret L. Suckley is a cousin of Franklin Roosevelt and author of The True Story of Fala. *Since 1941 she has been working on Mr. Roosevelt's personal collection in the Library at Hyde Park.*

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enjoy himself as the spirit moves him. He reminisces about his belated honeymoon in Italy, the Tyrol, Germany and France in 1907, when he and Mrs. Roosevelt picked up lovely old books, silver and curios which they still cherish. Or he tells about his fishing trip to Nova Scotia in 1939, when he had to hurry back to a Washington of war rumors and crises: or he describes the latest additions to his naval collection or to his stamp collection.

But the mantle clock has been ticking away and dinner time is not far off. FDR stuffs his cigarettes, matches and holder into various pockets and regretfully leaves this cheerful room. During the drive home through the woods, on roads he has laid out, he seems to be holding on to the last few minutes of his freedom. As he drives along slowly, he makes plans for tomorrow: he wants to spend at least two hours sorting books at the new Library; in the afternoon there will be a picnic on a high hill 15 miles away for some friends who are coming for a visit. The following day he will make a search for an old Revolutionary house he has heard of in Columbia County, to the north, and on the way back he will pick up an old coach lined with red brocade which a neighbor has promised him for the Library. It can be fastened behind the State Police car . . .

By the Val-Kill pond he stops the car to look at a blue heron standing knee-deep in the twilight. He listens to the sounds of the evening birds and loves the outline of the trees against the fading sky. He remarks that he is thankful he has a quiet evening before him—except, of course, for the usual interruption of official dispatches and telephone calls from Washington. With luck, he will have a good hour or two to work on his stamps, and he has a new detective story "to go to bed with."

Once more the little blue car starts, runs smoothly on the winding road, with FDR a little quieter than on the trip out. He needs to store up in his mind and heart all he can absorb of the open road.

An Old River Friend

by Mrs. Charles Hamlin

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT was about ten years old the first time his father and mother brought him along on a visit to my parents at our home in Albany. It was a cold winter day and the Roosevelts drove up to the house in an open sleigh. I was a few years older than he and had the usual contempt of the young for the slightly younger. "Ratty," a boy who lived across the street, and I stood waiting with our sleds as the guests got out of the horse-drawn sleigh. When mother had told us that Franklin was coming, "Ratty" and I were convinced that he would turn out to be a New York sissy, so we stood there, waiting with unfriendly looks on our faces.

The tall boy in the back seat of the sleigh scrambled out into the snow, ran over to us and with a friendly smile, said "May I go coasting with you?" The warm charm and friendly smile of Franklin Roosevelt, which were later to carry to the far corners of the earth, completely broke down our hostility.

He soon showed us he was no sissy; he knew more about coasting than we did, and even turned handsprings down the hill. He told us about winters in the country around Hyde Park, about skating and iceboating on the Hudson, and that he wanted to go to Groton and Harvard.

After dinner that night he and I went out coasting again. When the City Hall bell boomed nine o'clock, which meant our bedtime, I egged him into joining me in a raid on the ice-cream supply left over from dinner. We stole down the outside stairs and into the blackness of the unlighted cellar. The glow of the furnace gave a faint light, making the shadows even darker. Franklin waited beside the cellar stairs while I tiptoed into the pantry and rushed back with my loot. We carried the ice cream into the garden and sat on our sleds, taking turns eating from the silver serving plate. After stuffing ourselves full, we left the remains on the silver platter in the garden for my dog.

I LEARNED about his suddenly being stricken with infantile paralysis from Dr. Jameson. It was August, 1921. The first time I saw Franklin after his illness was in June, 1922. He was in Boston being measured for braces. He looked tired as he sat in an arm-chair, but seemed very cheerful as he said that his doctor had ordered him to swim and that he intended going back to Hyde Park the next week. He was much interested in current affairs and we talked a lot about the election and its possibilities. At that time, movement and feeling in his hips, he said, were normal, but he could exercise only a small amount of control over his feet and toes.

In July, 1924, I heard Franklin's great nominating speech for the Happy Warrior—Governor Al Smith. Roosevelt stood at the desk on the platform as if noth-

Mrs. Charles Hamlin, for many years a close friend of President Roosevelt, was born in Albany. Her husband was the first Governor of the Federal Reserve Board and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under Wilson.

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ing were wrong with him, his fine height and superb head silhouetted by the lights.

The most poignant picture of Franklin Roosevelt, the invalid, was presented to me one day in October, 1925. My husband and I went over to see him and found him in the best of spirits. One of his knees had locked and he was carrying through a program of very rigid exercises trying to improve the condition. I watched as he made his endless rounds—for two or three hours a day—holding on to the wooden railing of a rectangular walk. Usually several of his friends were sitting around, and he talked and laughed cheerfully as he circled the platform, holding himself up by the railing and dragging his almost useless legs after him.

IN NOVEMBER, 1941, I went down to Washington for a visit at the White House, staying there for six weeks. I arrived in the afternoon and was taken up to my room—the room with the great Lincoln bed in it. About 7:15, one of the ancient colored waiters knocked at my door to say the President was having sherry in his study and hoped I would join him. I crossed the hall from my room and found him sitting at his desk in his dinner jacket with a tray of sherry glasses in front of him. He greeted me in the same old way, with a kiss, and introduced Mr. Aubrey Williams of the National Youth Administration. The President always introduced me as "an old River friend," remembering that we were both born on the banks of the Hudson.

December 6. There was a large dinner at the White House in the evening. The President was already sitting at the head of the table when the guests came in. He looked very worn. Before the meal was finished he asked to be excused. His face was unusually stern.

Sunday, December 7. I came in from church to find a long line of people arriving at the East Entrance for luncheon. The guests lined up in the Blue Parlor. Eleanor was a few minutes late and a bit flustered. She said she was extremely sorry but the news from Japan was very bad and the President would be unable to have lunch with us. The bombardment of Pearl Harbor took place as we sat there talking and eating. As we came out into the hall, the news seemed to flash instantaneously around the guests. Secretary Knox had telephoned the President that Pearl Harbor had been bombed. The telephone call came through within fifteen minutes after the raid started in Honolulu. The guests stood about in stupefied knots—there was nothing to say. Everyone seemed to melt away.

On Sundays the President does not go to his office but uses the oval study across the hall. During the afternoon a procession of officials came and went by the elevator opposite my door. I bumped into the Chief of Staff, General Marshall; Cabinet members stood about in the hall talking in low, serious tones. Vice President Wallace stood near the study door for a moment as he spoke with an Army officer. The elevator was busy every minute, and later trays of tea were carried up, and later still, dinner trays. We sat in the West Hall after dinner and there was a continual coming and going. Members of the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs Committees were there helping to make arrangements for the President's speech before Congress the next day. I heard voices and steps far into the night.

Monday, December 8. As I walked across Lafayette Square during the morning I could see and feel the change that had come over Washington in 24 hours. Men in khaki and blue were hurrying toward the various government offices. Knots of members stood in front of the Army and Navy Club in earnest conversation, and automobiles filled with officers and men were pulling up and rushing off in every direction as if not a minute could be lost. I went along with the White House party to the House of Representatives to hear President Roosevelt's declaration-of-war message and joined in the tremendous ovation he received.

Tuesday, December 9. Tonight the President broadcast from the radio room. He looked relieved, as if a load was off his mind at last, now that fate and the Japanese attack had finally settled everything that had been brewing for so long. The courage that had always been one of his outstanding qualities rang through his speech, and afterwards he waved to us as he went out in his wheelchair.

Wednesday, December 10. Before dinner this evening I spent a few minutes alone with the President and Fala in his study. The President quipped that "Hungary, Rumania and Czechoslovakia have all declared war on us—I told Cordell to take no notice of them and I will not inform the Congress." His cigarette was tipped at its usual jaunty angle.

Tuesday, December 16. There are metal pails filled with sand and shovels now in each room in the White House—also black curtains.

Monday, December 22. As I returned to the White House at about 6:15 p.m., an usher met me with the dinner plan in his hand and said, "Dinner is at 8:30. You will sit next to Lord Halifax, who is on Mrs. Roosevelt's left." I looked at the plan and saw to my astonishment that the Right Honorable Winston Churchill was placed next to Eleanor. Mr. Churchill arrived in a reefer jacket. He had with him his aide, Commander Thompson, and his secretary, Mr. Martin. When it was time to assemble for dinner, I found the President and Mr. Churchill in the Red Room, the President sitting at a small table shaking cocktails, with Mr. Churchill standing beside him. When introduced, Mr. Churchill went around dutifully saying, "How-de-do—how-de-do." He reminded me of a big English bulldog who had been taught to give his paw.

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His Favorite Cartoons

Lewis in the Milwaukee Journal

"The Sphinx Speaks, But Says—"

From Punch

1943—"The Fates Decide"—With President Roosevelt and Premier Stalin, the Prime Minister helps to chart the course of the war at the Teheran conference as Adolf Hitler awaits the verdict.

From the Nashville Tennessean

"My Little Dog Fala Is Furious!"

Low

"Blasphemy! Not Fit for Young Ears!"

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During dinner the President and Mr. Churchill talked back and forth across the table, and the President laughingly pointed out that he had the advantage of the British Prime Minister, since he could leave the United States without having to get the permission of his Cabinet. "That," he said, "meant that the secret of the Atlantic Charter meeting probably had leaked out from the British side." "It must have been the women who did that," said Mr. Churchill. Mr. Churchill appeared to be less stout than the last time I saw him in London. His head is an unusual one—massive, as if cut from granite. His shirt front is a mass of wrinkles, but his eyes twinkle with the most kindly expression. Mr. Hull's head is like a cameo and he moves rather slowly and quietly, making an interesting contrast with Mr. Churchill, the jolly-sea-dog type. Just before dinner ended, the President leaned over with a glass of wine in his hand and said, "I have a toast to offer—it has been in my head and on my heart for a long time—now it is on the tip of my tongue—'To the common cause.'"

Tuesday, December 23. Mr. Churchill remarked at dinner that he had had quite a pleasant shock at breakfast when he had found two poached eggs as he lifted the cover off his breakfast tray. . . . Today the ceremony of lighting the Christmas tree was held on the White House grounds. The Marine band was playing as we walked out to the south portico. Both the President and Mr. Churchill made stirring short speeches and the President appointed the first day of 1942 as a day of prayer, a day of consecration to the tasks of the present. We all sang carols and the band played "God Save the King" and then "The Star-Spangled Banner." I sat by Mr. Churchill at dinner, and he seemed rather shy. He has a friendly twinkle and smile, but I imagine that he would be mighty in his wrath if the lion were aroused. Mr. Baruch was there. He had brought with him a bottle of special brandy, which the President served at the end of dinner. Every night we drink to the health of the United States and Great Britain and then to the common cause.

Christmas Day. We had a party in the West Hall during the afternoon, and there was great excitement. Everyone had a present tied with gay paper and ribbons. The children of the Crown Prince and Princess of Norway and Diana Hopkins were swamped with presents. The center of the hall was a tangle of children, boats, games, dolls, papers, ribbons and boxes. Each present was carried over carefully to the President and Mr. Churchill. The two great leaders examined them solemnly and enthusiastically and often helped the children to "make it go." The Crown Prince and Princess and other grown-ups were on the floor too—helping with the toys. Fala ran about not knowing what to make of the noise and confusion.

Saturday, December 27. This evening the President unwrapped more of his gifts. He looked carefully at each gift as it was opened, and at the card which usually contained a message—sometimes there was a letter. He immediately dictated a suitable reply of thanks. There were beautiful pajamas marked with his initials, fine handkerchiefs, leather jackets, slacks, slippers, cards etc., and many books. He must have unwrapped at least 50 packages that evening, but there seemed to be just as many piled up under the tree after he finished. It was about 10:30 when we parted, but he returned to his study for more work.

Friday, January 2. The White House guests were all in the West Hall to take coffee after dinner when, at about 9:30, Eleanor went to the study door, which was open, and returned to say that we could all come in and stand inside to watch the "Declaration of the United Nations" being signed. We lined up very quietly inside the door. First the President signed, then Mr. Churchill, then Mr. Litvinov and finally Mr. Soong. Mr. Litvinov wore a business suit—the others were in dinner jackets. The study was hushed and quiet as the statesmen signed. The only sound came from Fala, who was stretched out sleeping heavily, oblivious of the momentous happening.

Saturday, January 3. This evening I sat next to the President at dinner and we had a real old-fashioned gossip, reminiscing about early days, clear back to our first meeting in the nineties. We planned future summers when he could fish again safely in Buzzards Bay—he would stay for a long time at the Homestead—and he would come over to Mattapoisett and we would have wonderful times together. I had no premonition that this would be the last time I would talk to Franklin Roosevelt. My last glimpse of the President was of him sitting at the dinner table in the private dining-room with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Hopkins. I said goodnight, never dreaming it was goodbye.

IT WAS Sunday, April 15, and I was in Hyde Park standing beside the spot where the remains of President Roosevelt had just been buried. As I stood there, the President's life as I had known it seemed to pass in a kind of pageant before me. The little boy jumping so eagerly out of the sleigh; the episode of stealing the ice cream in the dark cellar; his great ability and charm in the Wilson administration; the boundless courage with which he had met and overcome a disability which would have meant the end for most people. His years as President, when he first had to face an economic war at home and then a world war abroad; his joy of life through everything; his pleasure in friends, old and new; his great spirit that rose above almost insuperable difficulties, domestic and foreign; and above all his faith—one sensed it in all his talks and felt it in the buoyance of his outlook. God grant us this faith in carrying on his great plans for a new world.

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He Loved People

by Grace G. Tully

HE LOVED PEOPLE—all sorts and conditions of people. Perhaps his predominant characteristic was compassion—a boundless compassion for all who were called upon to suffer or to carry heavy burdens.

His service as Governor of the great state of New York was a fitting apprenticeship for the larger duties to which he was later called four times by the will of the American people. In the field of social legislation, he saw eye to eye with his great predecessor in the governorship, the late Al Smith. The program which he carried through the Legislature for the welfare of the men, women and children of the Empire State supplemented the enactments placed on the statute books through the energy and vision of Governor Smith.

But long prior to the governorship, we find the beginnings of the late President's interest in social measures. He was a conservationist in the years of his membership in the State Senate, and he always liked to tell his friends that he had had an active interest in forestry since his youth. The relationship between conservation of national resources and the advancement of human welfare is by no means remote.

From youth onward, he maintained a great interest in the affairs of his Hyde Park neighbors. His was a nature that inspired confidence, and so he knew the joys and sorrows, the anxieties and perplexities—the manifold problems that confronted the individual in the communiity where he grew up and which, to the end, he held in such affection.

I have never known him so busy, either at home in Hyde Park, in the office of the Governor in Albany, or in the Executive Office of the White House, but that he could find time to give personal attention to the problems of the old friends who invariably turned to him in their hour of need. Scores of them looked to him in their times of emergency—when the unexpected blow fell.

How often he intervened in cases of this kind in Dutchess County! He believed in extending aid in such a manner that the recipient would not suffer the loss of dignity or a sense of personal humiliation. He always remembered a case of the death of a very worthy, elderly couple in Dutchess County from cold and starvation and total neglect because pride would not permit an appeal for aid.

I think this particular case profoundly affected the late President's social thinking. I am sure his sympathetic understanding of these individual human needs influenced him in the development of the great agencies of relief, necessitated by the stark realities which faced the American people on March 4, 1933. Dutchess County became, as it were, a laboratory or clinic for social studies. He found there, in miniature, a cross-section of the social problems that faced the nation when he entered the White House.

In seeds thus early sown, we find the genesis of the New Deal. Through all the controversy and condemnation which his principles drew from powerful enemies, he never lost faith in the dignity of the human being as an individual. His was an unshaken conviction.

This faith later found expression in his enunciation of the Four Freedoms at a time when the very foundations of democracy were threatened by a world conflict of principles and policy unparalleled in horror in the history of the race.

In even a brief resumé such as this, one must mention the work in behalf of sufferers from infantile paralysis begun in a small way at the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation. He created the Warm Springs Foundation, body and soul, and worked with characteristic vision to establish the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. The heart of the humanitarian was moved. He knew that hundreds of these sufferers were in the homes of the under-privileged. He was determined that not one such sufferer should be denied access to medical care through lack of funds.

Shortness of money had not been one of his own personal harassments when great physical affliction overtook him. The important thing was that he could grasp the problem of the fellow who faced similar suffering with empty pockets.

This deep, understanding sympathy was reflected always in his determination that the Warm Springs Foundation should be a home. He was ever vigilant not to allow the institutional spirit to creep into the establishment. The public was not aware of it but, by his personal direction, he saw to it that no one should know who were the paying patients and who were helped through the Foundation. He felt that the family spirit should be maintained without distinctions of any kind.

He was never greatly upset by the distortion and misrepresentation of his relief policies by his enemies. I think, however, that he reserved his supreme scorn for those who parroted the phrase that "he is a traitor to his class." How he laughed at those words!

Grace G. Tully became Mr. Roosevelt's private secretary while he was Governor of New York and continued in that capacity until his death.

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He Gave Strength to Freedom

by Samuel I. Rosenman

THE TOUCHSTONE of President Roosevelt's character and of his political creed lay in the value which he placed on the common man. Franklin D. Roosevelt fully recognized that this nation is a composite of one hundred and forty million people—people of all kinds, ancestries, religions and stations in life. It was the common man who elected him President four times. It was the common man who gave the President his strength and his leadership. His genius was his ability to use that strength to give back the same—even greater—strength to the common man.

President Roosevelt did this by carrying out a philosophy as obvious as it was simple and bold. It was his conception that the enormous resources of the nation and of the government were held in trust by all persons participating in the government.

That concept is not new. It is as old as political philosophy itself. What Franklin D. Roosevelt did that was new was to give that concept a living meaning. What was new was that under Franklin D. Roosevelt, these principles became practices, became a part of our statutes, so that the common man could feel these principles, live and gain strength by them.

President Roosevelt rejected the notion that in this complicated mechanical and financial age, that government is best which governs least. He recognized that such a notion is very often used as a sword to maintain the status quo, instead of a shield to protect individuals from their government. He had the courage to recognize and say that modern industrial society had become so complex that a healthy social and political body could not be built upon self-help alone—or, as it was then known, rugged individualism. He recognized that self-help was certainly essential, but only in an atmosphere so cleansed by the powers of government that it had some hope of bearing fruit.

This was no form of statism.

On the contrary, this doctrine emphasized individual enterprise, but made sure that individual enterprise would be free to operate without the deadening influence of monopoly or fraud or unfair competition. It emphasized the profit motive, but made sure that profits would not mean starvation wages, long hours, child labor. It emphasized the freedom of the individual, but not his freedom to oppress his fellow man.

This political philosophy insists that it is government's role to devote its resources to the use of all the people of the nation. Franklin D. Roosevelt, carrying out this philosophy, enacted a comprehensive program of reform based on the philosophy that it is the state's function to protect all its citizens against unnatural odds. Standing alone, the worker has his choice either of acceding to the terms dictated by his employer or of starving to death. The National Labor Relations Act changed this by bringing some balance into the relative bargaining power between worker and employer. Here the resources of the state were used concretely to empower the common man to deal equally with his employer.

The investor was formerly obliged to invest in ignorance—unprotected from the greedy, the dishonest or the careless manipulators. By the Securities and Exchange Act and other statutes, the government used its resources to protect the investor from fraud.

The resources of the government were used on behalf of the small businessman and the consumer to strike at the evils of monopoly and restraint of trade. By the Public Utilities Holding Company Act and other statutes, the consumer was protected from excessive rates arising from manipulations of utilities. The common man was given some sense of peace and comfort in his later years through the Social Security Act. The farmers were protected from burdensome surplus production, from damage by flood and drought, from soil erosion and wholesale farm foreclosures. And where necessary and desirable, the natural resources of the nation were directly harnessed for the use of the people in the TVA, Bonneville and other projects.

These are only fragments of the whole. They fall into the single pattern of ranging the government behind all the people, balancing the scales where the common man is oppressed and providing for him the means by which he can help and protect himself. This policy does not in any way mean that those who used to be the over-privileged are now being subjected to discrimination. On the contrary, they are definitely included among those for whom protective legislation is designed.

President Roosevelt's permanent high place in the history of the world rests upon many things: his conduct of the war, his handling of international matters before and during the war, his leadership in all things which became a part of his job—upon many other characteristics and accomplishments at home and abroad. But foremost among the achievements for which a grateful nation will always honor him are the benefits of increased security and better living standards which Franklin Roosevelt brought about for the common man.

Samuel I. Rosenman, formerly a judge on the New York Supreme Court, served as special counsel to President Roosevelt and President Truman.

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He Was Indispensable

by Philip Murray

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to dwell on the relation of Franklin Roosevelt to labor without calling to mind the phrase "the indispensable man," the three words that came in for much vilification and derision during each of the presidential campaigns. And yet our national experience reveals that those words were graven in the hearts of the people. Working men and women considered President Roosevelt indispensable to their security and welfare as he set about enacting the great and needed social reforms which had been neglected for more than eighty years.

He *was* indispensable. This is not personal praise of the man or of his accomplishments; it is established by facts that run all through the history of this country. Crises have arisen time and again. Always and ever a man has appeared to solve the national dilemma. As we look back, we can see that the men who stepped forth under such circumstances were for the time and occasion indispensable. No other man at the moment could have done the job. This was true of George Washington; it was true of Andrew Jackson; it was true of Abraham Lincoln. It was similarly true of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Mr. Roosevelt assumed the presidency of the United States in the darkest economic hours our country has ever seen. The accumulated pile of national problems was monumental, and every one of them dealt in some way with a working population plunged into an abyss of despondency. Insecurity stalked virtually every home in the land that was dependent on an hourly-wage rate or weekly-salary rate for its continued well-being. The economic leadership of this country had failed to lead anyone but its own favored few. Our financial system was in chaos. The savings and investments of the common man had been swept away.

The feeling of national insecurity was demonstrated most vividly by those who presumably had the most security when President Roosevelt instituted his sweeping financial reforms. President Roosevelt was roundly denounced for the impounding of gold by economic leaders who had completely established their total inability to lead a retreat—the first requisite of any successful leader. This action of the President was not, however, directed to the benefit of the working people alone; he was halting the rush to destruction of our blind economic leaders themselves. He was acting on behalf of the whole people. He demonstrated that course of action anew when he instituted the National Industrial Recovery Act, which played such a large part in saving not only poor men from greedy and grasping speculators, but also reputable businessmen who were unable to function efficiently because of the chiselers and racketeers in their own ranks.

His initial acts as President revived the faith of a despairing people in the principle that "recognition of human rights" were not mere empty words to be used as a sounding board by politicians. He gave them life. He saw above all the turmoil the fact that our real trouble was a grave maldistribution of rights, caused by a comparative few who had seized unto themselves the rights of the many.

ONE OF THE RIGHTS that had been preëmpted in part by force, in part by stealth, was the right of human beings resident in the United States to assemble peaceably and petition their government for a redress of grievances. Because labor unions are organized primarily to obtain redress of grievances by sound moral and legal methods, the preëmption of this right by a few struck at the very foundation of American democracy. As a practical man, President Roosevelt realized that oratory would accomplish nothing. For that reason he invoked the power of Congress, and the National Labor Relations Act was the result. The act gave the people no new rights; it cloaked labor unions with no new powers; it merely placed the force of government behind rights that had always existed but had for a long time been denied. In subsequent days Mr. Roosevelt remained unmoved by fallacious arguments that the Wagner Act stripped rights from employers. It, of course, did no such thing. No employer who gives recognition to the rights of the human beings who happen to be on his payroll has ever been in conflict with the Wagner Act. Conflict with the act, Mr. Roosevelt held, could easily be avoided by observing the right of the working people to plan and carry out their own economic destiny through union organization. Time was to prove him right. The overwhelming majority of collective-bargaining agreements in the United States today have been achieved without any resort to the directive powers of the National Labor Relations Board.

Having provided for the right of the working people to *present* security through conduct of normal economic procedures looking toward making a living, President Roosevelt turned his attention to the *future* security of the people. His program bore the appropriate title of Social Security. It projected a statutory plan, now covering a great many of the wage earners in this

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country, whereby the requirements of old age and consequent inability to work gainfully, might and must be achieved by savings out of day-by-day creation of capital. He lived to hear the foremost opponents of Social Security loudly sing its praises and promise the people as political bait its continuance and greater extension.

IT IS EASY TO realize now the thoughts that must have often disturbed his sleep through the strenuous domestic years between his first inauguration in March, 1933, and Pearl Harbor Day in December, 1941. The forties were to prove his secret awareness that, while he was reconstructing human rights in this country, evil forces throughout the world were waging a hidden counter-campaign to destroy all human rights. To him it was a race, and he knew that faltering on his part could involve 130 million souls in what might easily prove a catastrophic return of human slavery throughout the earth.

The rights of the people, the common people, were the overtones and undertones alike of his now prophetic "aggressor speech" delivered at Chicago in 1937. He was not addressing the fascist war lords; he was speaking to the working people of the world whom he trusted and who trusted him. Honestly detesting the thought of war because of the new hatreds and prejudices that any war breeds in the hearts of men, he hoped to arouse not only the American people, but also the people of other lands to a realization of the dangers that lay ahead. His task was an impossible one, and war broke over the world in September, 1939.

The working people of the United States, too, went to war on that date, although many of them did not realize it. On the theory that they themselves entertain no desires much beyond the thresholds of their own homes other than home and family security, the people found it impossible to ascribe aggression and greed to other men. Their state of mind posed new problems for President Roosevelt at a time when even the most patient man might well have rejected confidence in the people as a guiding influence. He understood their state of mind. They felt that they were a sovereign people living under a political democracy and that they would have a voice in any decision between war and peace—although they had not been consulted in 1917. They were not to be consulted on this occasion. The decision rested with the fascist war lords, not with the working people of the world, and President Roosevelt knew it. His difficult job was to lead a people full of illusions—a people which when the blow fell might easily be plunged into a new abyss of war despondency similar to the economic despondency of 1933.

There were tears shed throughout America on that Sunday of December 7, 1941. They were not tears of fear, but of rage and humiliation, the latter stemming from the fact that they, the people, had not trusted Franklin Delano Roosevelt to the extent that he had trusted them. With that healthy reaction, the President's confidence in the people became steadier than ever before now that he knew he had their complete confidence. Within twenty-four hours after the Japanese struck and shattered our first line of defense, a determined and united nation of workers rallied behind the President. The fascist war lords derided his challenge and branded his requests on America's workers as fantastic. Fascism could not comprehend that he faced the grave future more serene than ever before in his faith in the common people. The ultimate result is history, but it may be said truthfully now that only one man, Mr. Roosevelt himself, was not astounded by the tidal wave of democracy that engulfed fascism.

In the face of Mr. Roosevelt's death no man could without rank effrontery venture to predict what future turns the bond of confidence between him and American working people would have taken. The record should show, however, that the unanimous question voiced by American workers on the night of April 12, 1945, was: "What is to become of us?" The question was, of course, a first reaction. There was no cowardice in it. The leadership given the people and the rare example of sacrifice so thoroughly demonstrated for their benefit by Mr. Roosevelt were not to be effaced in a single instant of death.

HISTORIANS will search and research the records of his education, experience, accomplishments and abilities for a clue to what made him what he was. They should not in this endeavor overlook his rare sense of humor. He never laid aside or sought to divest himself of the ability to laugh at himself and his own mistakes. Just as he worried with the people, he could—and did—laugh with the people. Those of us who remain will say in years to come: "I am glad I lived in his time."

No leader of organized labor who is himself free of political ambition will ever charge that Mr. Roosevelt's concern in the welfare of working men and women was a political pose. What a man says may or may not be important; it is how he says it that counts, and workers are uncannily quick to detect the insincerity of glib recital. Mr. Roosevelt met that test time and again in his career as President of the United States. He knew the problems of workers as well on the day he died as he knew on that long past summer day of late 1932 when a delegation of miners called on him in the Governor's mansion in Albany.

On that day he matched his callers' specific statements on their own degraded conditions with a masterly presentation of conditions throughout the whole mining industry. And what he said carried the common touch. If elected President of the United States, he said, he would restore to miners and all other workers their right to strive for a decent living through organizations of their own choosing, free from the in-

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dustrial Gestapo of company police and labor spies that had been too long inflicted on them. He kept that promise, as the miners that day knew he would keep it.

If it be possible to sum up the man's relation to working men and women in a brief sentence, it might read like this: The door of his office always opened directly on the broad avenue that led to the minds of the people.

He Was a Party Man

by Oscar R. Ewing

THE POLITICIAN—as distinguished from the statesman—is judged by his ability to win elections. Certainly, by this standard, Roosevelt was the greatest politician America has ever produced.

Roosevelt was richly endowed with qualities of heart and mind that enabled him to win elections. His buoyant personality, his incomparable radio voice, his mastery of phrasing ideas so that the man in the street knew what was meant, were all qualities that made him an invincible campaigner. Think of his phrases that are now a part of everyone's political vocabulary—"New Deal," "the forgotten man," "economic royalists" and many others. Who can ever forget his 1944 speech at the Teamsters' Dinner in Washington? His description of his dog's indignation at Republican criticism turned the Republican campaign into a farce and made it a race between Dewey and Fala.

In addition, Roosevelt's political philosophy was admirably adapted to winning elections in the years that followed the Hoover depression. During the 1920's, there had been an obvious swing of political opinion to the Right. In 1932, he reversed this trend and brought the Democratic Party back to its ancient moorings. The party had originally been founded by Jefferson's organizing the farmers, laborers—"artisans" they were called then—and low-income groups into a cohesive political party to defend themselves from the monied interests that dominated the old Federalist Party under Hamilton's leadership. The later party battles of the Jackson period were fought between the same forces, with the Democrats, under Jackson, defending the interests of farmers, laborers and low-income groups, and with the Whigs championing the interests of the manufacturing and financial groups. In the election of 1860, the farmers of the West left the Democratic Party on the moral issue of slavery and helped elect Lincoln, and a liberal land policy kept the farmers of the West in the Republican Party until the election of Woodrow Wilson. After the First World War the farmers again left the Democratic Party on the Prohibition issue. In 1932 Franklin Roosevelt was able to effect a new combination of farmers, laborers and low-income groups to battle the financial interests of Wall Street—an invincible combination so long as it can be kept together.

During all his years in the White House, Roosevelt was true to this political philosophy. By and large, the great measures enacted during his twelve years in office were either to advance the causes of one of these three groups or to protect them from economic exploitation by the manufacturing and financial interests. Many times he was unable to accomplish all he hoped, but never once did he lose sight of his fundamental objectives—the protection of the interests that were the foundation of his political strength.

He was a party man. He fully appreciated and utilized party organization in Dutchess County, in New York State and in the nation. Party organizations, Democratic and Republican, contain all kinds of people. The party leader must work with the organization as he finds it. Often the press attacked the Democratic leaders in the large cities. Roosevelt not only worked with these men but inspired them with his own ideals. I think they sincerely believed in his ideals.

People who do the drudgery of politics, ringing doorbells, taking polls, telephoning, raising funds, hope for some recognition or reward. As Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Roosevelt handled President Wilson's patronage in New York State. He knew the system and, within limits, accepted it. Of course he also obtained the support of many independent groups. It was amazing how he could reconcile their essential contradictions and make them all work together. It was, of course, a team that never worked smoothly. There were too many divergent views and clashing personalities, but somehow Roosevelt could keep them all going in the same direction. The party leaders of the Democratic organization often felt that Roosevelt gave too many plums to these extra-organization supporters. On the other hand, you could always hear the extra-organization people complaining that Roosevelt gave too much to party hacks.

Those of us who had the privilege of working with Roosevelt in politics have a precious memory. We cannot, of course, stop to grieve too long because there is so much to be done each new day. But we can go forth with Roosevelt's ideals still inspiring us in our efforts to make America the land he wished it to be.

Oscar R. Ewing is vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

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He Was a Political Genius

by Robert E. Sherwood

HE WAS a political genius. Without that genius he could not have been elected twice Governor of New York and four times President.

Of all the clichés used by Roosevelt's opponents, the one most subjected to wear and tear was the statement, "Of course I agree with him on some things—but I don't like the idea of having a politician in the White House." Hearing that time and time again, one was inclined to ask, "Who do you want in there—a dentist?" But such a question would have been futile, because it was obvious that what they really wanted was a politician skillful enough to get "in" and, thereafter, gratefully willing to do as he was told by the principal contributors to his campaign funds.

Roosevelt was certainly a good politician, in the sense that Beethoven was a good tunesmith or that Einstein is good at arithmetic. As a politician, he was in a class by himself—a class which he himself created. He saw this country whole—not in terms of precincts but in terms of people; and, when the time came, he proved that he could see the world whole.

I cannot speak with any personal knowledge of the years in Roosevelt's career preceding 1940. But in his last two campaigns—1940 and 1944—it was my observation that the major strategy was exclusively his own and, in many ways, a direct denial of the advice given him by professional ear-to-the-grounders.

Roosevelt was profoundly conscious of the fact, which the local politicians seem unable to comprehend, that the President of the United States is elected by *all* the people and his authority and responsibility transcend city and county and state lines and do not end at the waterfront.

Roosevelt appealed to the people over the heads of the party politicians, Congress and the reactionary press. He got out the vote, without any material aid from the Democratic Party "machine," which was a generally rickety and, in many of its parts, obsolete vehicle.

His greatest contribution to our political development was his mobilization of the independent vote. This amorphous mass of citizens included restless Democrats and restless Republicans and many others who had previously stayed home on election day grimly muttering "a plague on both your houses." It included individuals whose influence was far wider than the party hacks had ever imagined.

The greatest demonstration of the power of the independent vote—and of Roosevelt's awareness of it—came in the last election in 1944. In 1940, he had said, "I'm an old campaigner, and I love a good fight." That was undoubtedly true in the prewar period, but I don't think Roosevelt loved the fight he waged against Thomas E. Dewey. It is my conviction that he did not want to run at all in 1944, and that he approached the necessity of a campaign with reluctance and distaste. His deepest concerns, like those of so many of his fellow countrymen, were with the battles then being fought overseas and with the decisive battles which were soon to come. Even so, once he got down to work at the business of defeating his opponent he did a masterly job of it.

His first purpose was to overcome the general indifference of the public (including himself) toward the campaign. Dewey's early speeches had been generally dull but correct, with only one conspicuous blunder (the reference to the inadequacy of the supplies being sent to General MacArthur). There was every indication that the widespread lack of interest would result in a small registration and a small vote, which, of course, would be all to the advantage of the Republicans. Some excitement was badly needed, and Roosevelt provided it, near the end of September, in the Teamsters' Union speech. In that one he deliberately stepped down from his eminence as Commander-in-Chief and threw a series of punches which landed, and hurt.

In response to the Teamsters' speech, Dewey angrily shouted, "He asked for it—and here it is!" He thereupon abandoned his assumed pose of statesmanlike dignity and started swinging wildly, which was precisely what Roosevelt wanted. As a result, the registration and the vote were far larger than had been predicted.

From then on, Dewey worked with increasing frenzy to gain the cheers of the crowds to whom he spoke. If a particular punch-line went over big in Oklahoma City it became a part of the act and was repeated in every speech thereafter. Dewey forgot that his audiences were composed almost entirely of rabid partisans who were going to vote for him anyway. Roosevelt did not make that mistake. He talked not to his immediate audiences of dyed-in-the-wool Democrats but to all those all over the country who had not yet made up their minds. He appealed to the independents who held the balance of power.

In mobilizing the independent vote as he did, Roosevelt owed much to the lessons he learned from the reverses suffered by Woodrow Wilson and Al Smith,

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and to the remarkable fact that his opponent of 1940, Wendell Willkie, became such a gallant and militant crusader for independence of thought and action within the Republican Party.

Today I hear some despairing people say that Roosevelt's political genius died with him and that the balance of power is now with the coalition of reactionary Republicans and Southern Democrats. That is temporarily true on Capitol Hill. But I do not believe that it is true in the nation as a whole. On the contrary, I believe that the independent vote is becoming of ever increasing importance, with enormous added strength from the returned servicemen who are not impressed by party labels. Indeed, the entire generation which has come to political consciousness since 1932 provides a factor which the old party leaders and the old newspaper publishers and the congressional mossbacks cannot understand or cope with. Typical of the miscalculations made by Roosevelt's political enemies is their gleeful assumption that his death has enabled them to move in and cancel the New Deal; they may score some local, short-term victories, and do some immediate damage, but they are only putting more black marks for themselves on the record—and it is the record which counts on Election Day. (After the election of 1940, Wendell Willkie said, "I knew I was licked when I heard the President start to read the record of Martin, Barton and Fish.")

In 1948—unless both candidates are so rigidly conservative that there is no choice between them—the independent vote will decide the election. Which means that Franklin D. Roosevelt will win again.

He Shared Our Lives

by Anna Rosenberg

IT IS A YEAR since a stunned nation and a shocked world heard that Franklin Delano Roosevelt was dead. Millions of men and women felt a deep and personal sense of loss in the death of a man whom they had never seen and yet knew as their friend. For in him was their hope of the present and promise of the future.

These millions in the main did not mourn the passing of a great President. They mourned the vibrant, virile strength, the spirit of daring, that tremendous jubilant belief in the ability of America and her people which had given them a new courage and a new trust. They mourned the man who said, "We have nothing to fear but fear itself"; the man who said, "We can build 50,000 planes a year"; the man who told them of the Four Freedoms and believed they can be attained. They knew that he put no limit on what they could accomplish and on their desire to do what is right. They knew that he loved them.

It was his genuine love for people and identification with their problems; the sense of time that all leaders must have and the sense of timing that all politicians must have; the inner serenity of one who has conquered great pain and physical handicap; the ability to laugh; the inexhaustible wells of energy; and the concern with and for the dignity of little people—it was these qualities that evoked for him such response from those with whom he worked.

These qualities were brought into full play in his dealings with labor. I had the opportunity to observe them well in his meetings with the Victory Labor Committee, on which I had the unique good fortune to serve as secretary.

There were often points of disagreement in these meetings. They were often held at crucial and even desperate times. But always the President started them off by setting a stage of friendliness and informality. He might begin with the repetition of a joke told by the preceding caller, proceed to a recital of woes in connection with legislation in Congress, and go on to recall something Bill Green had told him years ago and which Bill had completely forgotten. None of this was germane to the meeting, but all of it combined to establish a subtle relationship based on shared past association and incident. Then came the business at hand. Smart politics? Certainly. But you felt that the President did it not only because it was good politics but because it was also the human way of doing things. Above all, he liked to do things in human ways and to relate them to specific human situations.

In all our discussions on labor and labor problems, not once did he ever quote from a labor book or labor formula. He knew the subject thoroughly, but he preferred the method of, "Well, I remember when I was Governor we had a situation like that in Syracuse, and here's what we did. . . ."

He was fair with the labor leaders—fair in the sense that he did not always press them to gain a point, even though it was badly needed. He explained to me that he knew the limitations under which labor leaders function. They "have to go back to the members" and it would be unfair to them to wrest consent to something which would embarrass them and weaken their prestige with their own people.

But when necessary he did ask, and he got, from

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organized labor coöperation out of the ordinary and in unusual situations.

I remember one instance in particular. Two universities were engaged in experimental work on a key phase of atomic energy—work which required the employment of a substantial number of workers. However, the nature of the work was such that these workers had to be let go individually when they reached a certain stage in the experiment. Otherwise, there was a possibility that one of them might put two and two together and come up with the right answer.

The workers at both places, properly resentful of these dismissals without any cited cause or explanation, petitioned for a union election under the procedures of the National Labor Relations Board. Both wished CIO membership. The right of these groups to such an election is basic. Yet to hold it meant publicity and explanations which were simply impossible to make.

These facts I know now. I did not know them then. All I knew was that the President asked me to get in touch with Phil Murray and ask him to request the two groups to withdraw their demand for an election. He assured me that it was absolutely necessary and directed me similarly to assure Phil Murray for him.

It is a tribute to Phil Murray that he took the necessary action in this instance, as Bill Green, Dan Tobin and other labor leaders took similar action. It is an equal tribute to Franklin Roosevelt that he had built up such a backlog of faith and trust with these men, and the rest of the labor movement, that he could make such requests.

TO ME one of the most human characteristics of the President was revealed clearly in his interest in, and his conception of his obligation to, the men in the service. Naturally, both as President and Commander-in-Chief, he had definite responsibilities. But his devotion to the servicemen went far beyond that. It was a personal identification with them. I cannot imagine that any other President, functioning under the awful pressure to which Franklin Roosevelt was subjected, would have found time to concern himself so intimately with the service. Certainly no other President would have picked a woman and a civilian to send abroad to make a study of these problems for him.

I had the great good fortune to represent the President twice on such missions. The first was in August and September, 1944, and in spite of his heavy burdens we spent several fairly long periods discussing what I was particularly to observe.

I remember that at one of these conferences he said, "You know, the reason I am especially anxious to find out about these things is that in the last few years, instead of helping them build their personal futures, we have asked them to concentrate on building the world's future. Now I want to do everything I can to help them build for themselves again."

He wanted me to find out from the men themselves what they wanted, and I remember very clearly his comment on this:

"I know that in their homesickness and desire to get back to everything that is close and dear to them the country they picture in their minds is far better than the one that actually existed when they went away. We will have to do something about living up to that idealized conception."

Another part of my mission was to see about the "little things" which, as he put it, "big men overlook." He was quite specific in detailing such things as mail, recreation and study.

He asked that I make certain to see and talk with all kinds and grades of men, and in all possible situations.

Before I left I went to the President to say good-bye and he said, "I envy you tremendously. You are doing something which above all things I would like to do myself."

I DON'T THINK that it has been generally realized what a great concern the President had for the problems of the servicemen. He knew that they were going through a strange and, for some of them, terrible experience, and as one who had gone through what might be called a similar experience, he felt deeply with the soldier and had a passionate desire to assist him.

I thought of these things when I was in England and France and talked with servicemen. With almost telepathic clarity, the things the men felt they needed to make life better immediately, and the things they looked forward to on their return were exactly the things the President told me they might want immediately, and to which they would look forward on their return. One of the highlights of that trip was the constant evidence of the personal sense of relationship the men themselves felt for the President. Soldiers would say: "Tell him for me..." and "Tell him I said . . ."—this with all the respect and affection in the world.

An instance of this sort occurred when I was with General Patton. Two soldiers at his headquarters took me aside and wanted to know if I would do them a tremendous favor. I said I certainly would if it were possible. It seemed that when President Roosevelt was at Casablanca they had cooked his meals. Would I be sure and tell the President how proud they had been and how they would never forget it?

When I returned to this country I went to make my report to the President. I did mention the incident to him and was fumbling among my scattered notes for their names when the President interrupted me and said, "Don't bother, weren't their names ——— and ———?"

They were.

My second trip for Mr. Roosevelt to visit service-

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men abroad was suggested to the President by General Eisenhower. I was naturally pleased, and he was also, since he said he already had scheduled me to return. For one thing, he wanted me to check up on the data and information I had gathered and see what changes were necessary to bring them up to date. Second—and this to me will always remain as the most vivid instance of the President's almost prophetic imagination and feeling for time and events—he felt that peace was near and that, as soon as it came, the GI would have new anxieties and new fears. In addition to the development of a practical and broad program of education and recreation he sensed that there would be a new mental and spiritual attitude which would require deep understanding and guidance.

I saw Franklin Roosevelt for the last time early in April, 1945, at luncheon at the White House when I was "briefed" on this second trip. I could see that the President was very tired, yet he went into great detail on what I was to do and he emphasized that, as at the end of the first trip, he wanted a verbal as well as a written report. Let me interject here that I have never met anyone in public life who through direct conversation could elicit so much information and cut through so quickly to the heart of a situation or a problem as could the President.

This, was the last time I saw the President. I almost saw him again—and the circumstances are indicative of his greatness. I had intended to leave for Europe immediately after the White House luncheon, but I received a message to postpone the trip because the President had some more instructions for me. I was told that he was going to Warm Springs but would spend one day in Washington afterwards and before leaving for San Francisco for the organization meeting of the UNO. This surely would have been a most crowded day, yet with the burden of UNO before him he had set aside time to discuss further this mission on the problems of your son and mine.

If I had to give just one example of Franklin Roosevelt's greatness and humanity, I would single out, I believe, that appointment which tragically could not be kept. It encompasses everything I have tried to say here.

He Cherished American Culture

by Archibald MacLeish

MR. ROOSEVELT approached the culture of Americans as he approached their political life and their economic and social institutions—as an historian or, rather, as a political leader whose intellectual preoccupation was history. And that aspect of his character his fellow citizens had come to know very early in his administration. They had learned, despite a persistent and quite unscrupulous propaganda to the contrary, that Mr. Roosevelt's sense of history and of the American tradition was very strong indeed—far stronger than that of the publishers who attacked him as an enemy of what they were pleased to call "the American way of life." As a matter of fact there was nothing in the President's character, except perhaps his courage, which inspired a greater confidence in the people than the assurance with which he moved on the main stream of the American tradition and made its current and direction clear.

The sense of history in a political leader is a sense of the past as the past has meaning for the future. The sense of posterity is a presence in the earth. And to any man who feels it, learning and the arts are the continuing realities. Only those who have never had the sense of time or who have lost it through stupidity or ignorance can think of poetry and learning as they are so often thought of by American politicians.

A leader of profound intelligence and perception like Mr. Roosevelt understands as well as or better than the artists and the scientists that science and the arts are the means by which the continuity of a civilization is established—are indeed themselves that continuity—and that the intellectual monuments of a people are more than trophies and reminders: that they are, in the most precise sense, its life.

It was this understanding of the President's which led him to authorize the various relief projects in the fields of art and learning. I doubt that he expected the projects to produce paintings or plays or books or records of the first importance. Certainly it was with no such purpose in mind that the projects were established. What was intended was a declaration—the first in the modern history of the federal government—that those who follow learning and the arts are as important to the Republic as those who follow other callings, together with a practical provision for the survival, *as* artists and *as* writers and *as* scholars, of men and women who had worked in scholarship and the arts, whether with recognition and success or not. That some of the work produced—the State Guides, for example, and the survey of state records and some of the plays and a number of the paintings and murals and the pictorial record of folk art and many other pieces of individual work—turned out to be good and of lasting value, must have pleased the President. It is always

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pleasant to see virtue triumph, to say nothing of the delight of watching the discomfiture of the Philistines. But it was not for the work's sake that the relief program was extended to the scholars and the artists. It was for the sake of the Republic. I have no doubt that the significance of the federal arts projects will increase for this reason as time goes by. The American people have always been proud in retrospect of the precedents by which recognition of their culture has been established. Certainly the declaration of federal responsibilty and concern which the projects implied will rank in time as one of the most important of these.

The relief projects, however, were far from isolated instances of Mr. Roosevelt's preoccupation with matters of this kind. No President of the United States since Thomas Jefferson has had anything like Mr. Roosevelt's conception of the place of a national library in the American design.

Libraries of democratic record—libraries in which the history of a self-governing people is set down—were objects of increasing interest to the President as time passed. When he spoke, as he often did, of his purpose to spend his life, after his retirement from public office, as a librarian, he spoke more than half in earnest. He was a conservationist of records as well as of resources. He took his duties seriously as an honorary member of the Society of American Archivists; one of its leaders recalls how a prominent American civilian-affairs officer in Italy was called to the White House to make certain that he understood the President's great concern for the protection of Italian local archives. He had the scholar's love of papers as well as the statesman's understanding of what papers mean.

Franklin Roosevelt's continuing interest in, and concern for, the cultural life of his country must be set down as one of the dominant forces in his life. It is too early yet to say whether that interest will be reflected, as Jefferson's has been, in the character of American culture itself. It is clear, however, even now, that with the one possible exception of Thomas Jefferson, no other American President has touched so deeply and so directly the intellectual and artistic life of the nation.

Number One Movie Fan

by Melvyn Douglas

ON A HOT JUNE DAY in 1936, President and Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt came to Arkansas to say hello to the plain people of that state, to the old people and the children, to the farmers and the townspeople, to the young and to the weary, to all the thousands who shouted a joyful, resounding welcome as they lined the crowded streets and dusty roads to form a lane through which his car slowly passed.

It was great and genuine drama, the President waving back to the laughing people, Negro and white, many of them carrying colorful welcoming banners, many wearing apple blossoms and feathers in their hair, some holding infants in their arms as they shouted their admiration for their true friend. He smiled his warm, inspirational smile. He was playing the role I think he liked best: leading man in a drama featuring People, Crowds, Speeches and the Spirit of Pioneering.

For, as I remember FDR, his instinct for the dramatic was not something which he displayed only as a critic of the legitimate theatre or the motion pictures. "Being shot" by the newsreels was important for him not because of personal vanity but because FDR knew that millions of Americans would see the pictures and feel happier if their President looked fit and healthy. Meeting with and entertaining actors at the White House was something he enjoyed not only because he was a "fan" of the stage and the screen in the best sense of the word, but also because he knew that the performing arts were a marvelous medium for the education and inspiration of the people.

Certainly he never lost sight of the fact that actors as well as artists and musicians are people. He was diametrically opposed to the school of thought which believes that genius flourishes best in a garret. He was, I feel, the first American President who fully realized the potential strength which a nation can derive from a coördinated arts program. The fact that the cry of boondoggling was raised against the Works Progress Administration as a whole and particularly against the Federal Theatre made the President sad, for he realized that his political enemies were using the actors as a stick with which to beat the entire New Deal program.

By the time the Federal Theatre was born in 1935, many Americans had already forgotten how terrible things had been when FDR came to Washington. The worst part of the slump was over; the apple-sellers had disappeared; the breadlines and the soup kitchens were on their way out, and many of the jobless youth who had been jumping freights were working.

Melvyn Douglas, the well known motion-picture actor, served as Consultant to the Arts Division of the OCD and chief of its Volunteer Talents Unit. He has been a member of the California State Board of Public Welfare, the National Advisory Committee for the WPA and the NYA and the Board of the Screen Actors' Guild.

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Furthermore, the WPA seemed to present the perfect answer, not only for solving the economic problems of the artists themselves, but also for heightening public morale by bringing the theatre out of the domain of a privileged few who lived in New York and into the reach of the millions in the provinces.

President Roosevelt became enthusiastic about establishing a Federal Theatre. Harry Hopkins, then WPA Administrator, shared his enthusiasm. They agreed on FDR's suggestion: to engage Hallie Flanagan, who had been director of the Vassar Experimental Theatre, as head of the Federal Theatre.

There was immediate objection to a theatre financed by public funds. The Roosevelt Administration countered these objections as best it could, for its members knew that unemployed actors get as hungry as unemployed street-cleaners, and saw no reason why, if WPA workers could build good bridges on which people were willing to travel, they could not produce, act in and direct plays which people were willing to see. Besides, the members of the Administration felt that the WPA Theatre would be able to communicate a wide range of social and human values to the people through the wide range of plays it put on, and they were also in favor of restoring the self-respect of valuable theatre people unemployed because of the depression.

Harry Hopkins expressed the aim of the Federal Theatre as "a free, adult, uncensored theatre." He and the President both realized that in 1935 the danger was in men not working, and they both firmly believed that the greatest bulwark of democracy was happy people at work. They also sensed what many of us realized more acutely later: that when it comes to the question of spending the taxpayers' money, the spender can always be made out to be wrong by his enemies.

THOSE OF US who watched Hallie and her trials with the Federal Theatre remember the exciting series of successes and failures, of accomplishments and setbacks, of triumphs and "smears" it led to. The very first production, "Ethiopia," brought about the resignation of Elmer Rice, because the inclusion of the transcription of a broadcast by FDR, with speeches by Haile Selassie and Mussolini, was prohibited. Sinclair Lewis' dramatization of his book, *It Can't Happen Here*, led to an even more vitriolic controversy. There were those who said that the play was designed to reëlect FDR, and just as many who insisted that it would serve to defeat him. There were many who camplained that the theme was pro-New Deal propaganda, and others who called it subconsciously fascist.

Not only the public but authors, actors and directors deluged FDR with letters, telling him what irked them. When Meyer Levin's "Model Tenement" was stopped in Chicago, he wrote to President Roosevelt, complaining that his play was not propaganda but a report on housing conditions comparable to a newspaper story. When "Created Equal" was being prepared in Newark, some of the actors refused to go on in it, and the newspapers reported that their objections were based on the fact that, in the play, Jefferson and Lincoln were made to say lines which sounded like FDR. The President received letters telling him he had appointed a pro-Catholic propagandist in Hallie Flanagan; he received just as many accusing the Federal Theatre of being pro-Communist. FDR looked at the nation; he saw "one third ill housed, ill clad, ill nourished." But he did not despair; he looked to the future with hope. And the Federal Theatre expressed his hope in "One Third of a Nation," its first Living Newspaper, which, in the words of Mrs. Roosevelt, expressed better even than a speech by FDR what he wished to convey about the state of the Union. Roosevelt liked the idea of the Federal Theatre just as he liked any pioneering job. He saw in it the begininngs of a real people's theatre. But when Hallie Flanagan wrote to him in 1939, suggesting a completely government-sponsored theatre, he did not acquiesce, for he felt that the time was not yet ripe for such a step.

ALONG with countless others, FDR mourned the passing of the Federal Theatre by an Act of Congress. He felt that he could not veto the bill which spelled its demise because that would have meant the stoppage of work for all the needy unemployed. But he expressed his sorrow over the suspension of the Federal Theatre in these words:

"This singles out a special group of professional people for a denial of work in their professions. It is discrimination of the worst type. I have not objected to the provisions that a portion of the costs of projects for artists, musicians and writers should be paid for by local governments and sponsored by them, and the same provisions could well have been applied to theatre projects. The House conferees declined to yield to the Senate and we have as a result an entering wedge of legislation against a specific class in the community."

Although Congress put an end to the Federal Theatre as such, the legislation did not by any means kill the talents of those who had worked on it. During its three and a half years of operation, an average of 2,500 actors, directors, playwrights and other theatre workers per year had found their way back to the stage and entertainment world via the Federal Theatre.

Arthur Arent, the author of "One Third of a Nation," was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship, as were several other authors who had worked on the Federal Theatre. Four WPA playwrights received Rockefeller Foundation fellowships. Marc Blitzstein, whose "Cradle Will Rock," a play in music about a steel strike, was stopped by the Federal Theatre and immediately produced by Orson Welles and John Houseman on Broadway, composed "The Airborne," a symphony performed by Leonard Bernstein and the City Sym-

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phony Orchestra in New York on April 1 and 2, 1946. Howard da Silva, Canada Lee, Rex Ingram, Hi Sherman, Lloyd Gough, Norman Lloyd and Joseph Cotten are only a few of the WPA actors who today are names in lights. And Howard Bay, the scenic designer who has received more contracts than any other designer on Broadway in the past several seasons, is a "graduate" of the WPA.

BEFORE THE WAR, FDR was rightfully called the Number One Movie Fan of the country. It was an ordinary matter for him to see at least one movie a week. After 1941, he confined his motion-picture fare to documentaries and war films. I was at the White House on several occasions when movies were shown in the long drawing-room on the second floor. There, surrounded by his family, dinner guests and a few friends, he watched Hollywood's output with boyish eagerness, gay and interested, no matter how poor or banal the picture, ready with a wisecrack or *bon mot* about even the sorriest product of the Coast. He had a lusty sense of humor and he loved to make jokes, what he called "breathers," after a hard day's work. FDR was a real movie fan because he used to put on full shows. With the feature picture would come the newsreel, the short subject or travelogue, and the comedy. I remember once when the sound track squeaked in a newsreel of himself and he said: "That's the Garbo in me."

FDR did not install the moving-picture equipment at the White House; that was done by Woodrow Wilson. But he did send for his own movies instead of getting them through the Navy office, as his predecessors had done. When Roosevelt looked at movies at the White House or at Hyde Park, where they were shown on the lawn overlooking the Hudson, the man in charge of projection was Chief Petty Officer Claude Johnson of the Navy. On shipboard, the movies were shown by regular ship projectionists on the cruiser's sheltered after-deck.

Back in 1937, when FDR made a good-will tour of South America for five weeks, he took with him twenty-six feature films and saw them all. The first thing he used to do when he returned from a trip was to see all the newsreels he had missed while he was away, just as people look at the back copies of newspapers after a vacation. FDR had a complete newsreel library of himself, which began at the time when he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy and went right up through his governorship to the presidency; it was made into a two-reeler and called "Man of the Hour" in 1933. Three years later, another film was done about FDR's Day at Home in Hyde Park, showing him on the grounds, in the house, and driving his car.

Naturally, FDR was not the first President who was a newsreel personality, but he was the most cooperative presidential subject the newsreel cameramen had ever known. His patience and understanding were unmatched; he thought that the cameramen were always right and that their desires should be served. FDR showed his great interest in the movies by using professional phrases with cameramen. He would suggest that his eyes be kept out of the sun because he had noticed that some shots had been not too successful the previous week on account of glare. In peacetime, FDR appeared in the newsreels from twenty-six to thirty times a year; he was seen by more people in the movie houses than the two most popular Hollywood stars in any year.

After the war, FDR saw only war movies. He had no time on his schedule for the pleasures of social life or his hobbies of stamp-collecting or ship-model collecting. However, his "breathers" did continue, accompanied by his hearty belly laugh and twinkling eyes.

And he continued to break theatrical precedents. His fireside chats on the radio brought his voice to the common man. He broke a presidential precedent when he permitted an actor to impersonate him in "Yankee Doodle," the story of George M. Cohan. The voice in the film was that of FDR as it was also in "Mission to Moscow" and "The Story of Dr. Wassell."

During the war years, FDR fully realized the great boost which can come from the radio, the movies and the theatre as a helping hand to the war effort and civilian defense in general. He considered that the "American movie is one of our most effective media of informing and entertaining our citizens. The motion picture must remain free in so far as our national security will permit." FDR was thoroughly sold on the use of training-films in connection with the war, and the entire Army Information and Education Division interested him profoundly. I know that he gave a great deal of his time to these departments of war work and that he saw every film that had to do with each phase of the war.

UNDER Roosevelt the White House became a mecca for theatrical and artistic talent, and the same breadth and warmth of personality that were shown in all of FDR's activities were obvious in his reactions to the theatre and the motion picture. His idea that there would have to come a time when the theatre as an institution would require federal or state support, not to be run by the government but to be assisted by government funds, was one which many people today hope will some day come to pass as an accomplished fact.

President Roosevelt was firm in his belief that freedom from hunger and want and fear is an essential to the growth of culture as expressed in the theatre and the motion picture. He understood fully the value of the theatre as an educational force and he realized just as fully how important the performers can be in implementing a progressive program for the people

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His Bequest to the People

by Basil O'Connor

ON JANUARY 18, 1946, less than a year after the passing of Franklin D. Roosevelt, a new dime was minted by the United States Treasury. It bore on one side the face of the late wartime President who did not live to see the final victory for which he had striven so hard and so long. It was put into circulation on January 30, his birthday, as a tribute to him.

No coin could have been more fitting. During President Roosevelt's lifetime he had given a new meaning to the little silver ten-cent piece. He had made it a symbol of hope and courage and humanity for hundreds of thousands of men, women and children who were afflicted, like him, with infantile paralysis. The March of Dimes, inaugurated in his name, was the means of building an organization which lives on, after him, to aid victims of a mysterious and crippling disease and to seek a preventive or cure.

It was my privilege to be associated with Mr. Roosevelt from the beginning of his crusade in behalf of those who had been stricken by infantile paralysis. His interest in his fellow sufferers, members of his "club" of youngsters and adults who had shared the same ordeal as he, was passionate and consistent.

There is no more important work than that of the protection of the health of people, particularly of children. Throughout his public career President Roosevelt was active in all fields having to do with child health and welfare. His sympathy for those who were ill, undernourished or handicapped went beyond his personal interest in infantile paralysis, of course. But because of his own experiences and the gradual realization they brought to him of the relatively neglected field of infantile-paralysis care and research, he threw himself into this crusade with extraordinary vigor.

I remember the first trip I made with him to Warm Springs, Georgia, in the twenties, when Mr. Roosevelt and I were law partners. We stayed at Hart's House, an old hotel with a limited medical staff. I was not impressed, and said so. But as the years went by and I had frequent occasion to accompany him to Warm Springs, the dream he was dreaming of its enlarged usefulness began to emerge.

When Mr. Roosevelt decided to run for the New York governorship in 1928, he said to me: "Doc, you'll have to run Warm Springs now!" Fulfilling that assignment, and the one which followed as president of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, have been the most enriching experience of my life.

Basil O'Connor is president of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis.

It would be too much to say that Franklin D. Roosevelt saw the problem of infantile-paralysis research and care whole from the first. But he knew from the start that something big, something lasting, was in the making. He lived to see more accomplished than he had believed possible—a nationwide organization guaranteeing to all infantile-paralysis victims in need of financial assistance the means for obtaining the best possible medical care and treatment, regardless of age, race, creed or color. And he died convinced that some day scientific research financed by the generosity of the American people would destroy infantile paralysis.

President Roosevelt never was an officer or member of the Board of Trustees of the National Foundation. He assumed no part in its direction or administration. He merely transferred to it from Georgia Warm Springs the exclusive right to use the occasion of his birthday for the raising of funds for infantile-paralysis work. But his heart was in it. He discussed its problems, made suggestions for its further effectiveness, took time out of his increasingly busy and troubled days to participate in its public appeals.

We who have worked under the guidance of Franklin D. Roosevelt in this field have tried to incorporate into the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis his underlying ideals. We have truly attempted "to lead, direct and unify the fight on this disease." Despite the fact that almost all of our growing years to date have been years of bloodshed, suffering and difficulties, much has been accomplished. No preventive or cure has yet been developed, but more is known about infantile paralysis than ever before. Some of the research has brought to light facts which may be applicable to the treatment of other diseases as well. For the first time in history, there is assurance that investigations will continue beyond the ends of fiscal years, supported by millions of people.

Patients stricken by infantile paralysis who cannot pay their way are assured of the best available medical care—a departure in the public-health field. New and promising treatments have been investigated and their use facilitated. Physicians, nurses, physical therapists have been trained to help fill the gaps in our supply of specially trained professional personnel. The facts about infantile paralysis and its proper care have been brought home to professional workers and the general public. Hospital facilities in many places have been improved as the result of equipment purchased and personnel hired through March of Dimes funds.

All these things are but beginnings; the solid foundation upon which assuredly will rest the final arch of

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victory over infantile paralysis. They could never have been, had Franklin D. Roosevelt not been the outstanding example of our times of the triumph of courage and perseverance over handicaps. He remains a symbol of hope and aspiration to all who have suffered and bear physical marks of their suffering.

But he is more than a symbol, because he did not stop at personal victory. His drive, his devotion, his eloquence were turned into action for the purpose of helping others. He left behind him not only his own record as a man who conquered disabilities to rise to world leadership, but the means by which others could go and do likewise. And for this, there is no doubt at all, millions as yet unborn will call him blessed.

He Led the Common Man

by Henry A. Wallace

TO THOSE OF US who worked with Roosevelt day by day, the outstanding thing about him was his ability to lift the spirits of those around him. No matter how difficult the problem, he always had a worthwhile suggestion.

His leadership was always on behalf of the common man both in the United States and the world. In his airplane flights abroad he was impressed by the miserable living conditions in certain backward areas. He was convinced that it would eventually prove profitable to the United States to furnish engineering leadership to these areas.

He was completely shocked by imperialistic exploitation of backward peoples and felt that in some way he could do something about it.

His vision was always worldwide. As a boy he loved postage stamps, maps and boats—symbols of things which would take him everywhere in the world. No other man had such a detailed, personal, vivid understanding of world geography.

The first time I met Roosevelt he started talking to me about the shelter belt of trees to be planted in the Great Plains all the way from Texas, through Nebraska, to North Dakota. Those were the days of the dust storms and he felt that if trees were planted the weather would change. To me some of his agricultural ideas seemed fanciful; nevertheless, experience proved many of them to be far more practical than I had expected. His love for trees equaled his affection for maps and boats. When he registered to vote, he gave his occupation as that of "tree planter."

He might also have called himself an architect and dam builder. He loved to draw plans of just how things should be built. No President except, perhaps, Jefferson was so precisely conscious of space relationships. The engineering aspects of the TVA fascinated him. But in the final analysis, the TVA interested him most as a demonstration of how the living standards of people might be raised.

Roosevelt was not a scientist, but he had an intuition which made him respond in a remarkable way to the suggestions of scientists. The outstanding example, of course, was the way he acted at once on Einstein's atomic-bomb suggestion in the fall of 1939. It took the highest order of executive courage to pour more than $2 billion into an utterly untried project. No President ever had such a remarkable combination of courage and imagination. Without that imaginative courage, America would not today be the world's greatest democratic nation.

No one in the United States will ever again be elected four times to the presidency with the support of a party victory in seven successive congressional elections. Undoubtedly, Roosevelt made many political mistakes, but the essential fact remains that he held the Democratic Party together, as an effective political force, at a time when no one else could have done it. He made it an instrument of progress without completely alienating the conservative elements in his own party. Many accused him of duplicity when he was merely reconciling in a practical way conflicting elements. He played his politics by ear. Or perhaps we should say that he composed as he went along. He never wavered in his desire to serve the plain people, but his political methods and political advisers might change in the twinkling of an eye. In making these changes he was as impressionable as a woman and responded sometimes to the pressure of the last person who saw him. Yet, he always prided himself on being a hard-headed, stubborn Dutchman. And at times he was exactly that. This combination of adaptability and stubbornness baffled everyone. Henry Morgenthau, when I first saw him 14 years ago, summed it all up briefly by saying—"This man Roosevelt is lucky."

Yes, he was lucky. He came on the national scene at a time when his unique qualities could best serve the world. He died as soon as he had made his essential contribution. He missed the bitterness of postwar wrangling. He missed the Woodrow Wilson tragedy of seeing his mental and physical powers slip away when the world need for those powers was greatest.

His passing was our loss but his gain. His name will live as long as the memory of man.

Henry Wallace, Vice President during Roosevelt's third term, is now Secretary of Commerce.

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"Get Things Moving"—FDR

by Wayne Coy

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S prompt and decisive action to get badly needed military supplies to Russia in the summer and early fall of 1941 did much, much more than give physical aid to a great fighting people. By direct administrative means he supplied the answer to those who were claiming that the German attack on Russia had changed the nature of the war in Europe.

His action said that the United States would give effective aid to all people who are victims of a war of aggression. His action said that he did not subscribe to the then frequently stated view that the most desirable outcome of the German-Russian war would be a stalemate which would decimate both countries. His action said that he did not share the views of those high in our military councils who expressed the opinion that Russia could not survive the German onslaught beyond a few weeks. His action said that the defense of Russia was important to the defense of the United States and that the United States would act to strengthen every point of resistance to German aggression.

If aid to Britain had not already made clear United States policy in Europe, then aid to Russia, prosecuted against great resistance in this country, did. Further than that, the President's action laid the groundwork for the strategy that was to win the war. Aid to Russia was not to take away from Britain the aid which we were then giving her and pledged to continue. Even as the President was acting to implement pledges of aid to Russia given to Russian Ambassador Oumansky, the President's emissary, Mr. Harry Hopkins, was making a radio address in London and drawing for the British people a picture of Germany caught between two hostile camps, both supplied by the United States.

Mr. Hopkins stayed in London only long enough to assure the people of England that needed war materials would continue to flow to them, as well as to China and Russia, from the United States. Immediately, he went on to Moscow to find out what the Russians needed and how to get it there in a hurry. After three days in Moscow, he returned to England only to leave immediately to join in the Roosevelt-Churchill Atlantic Charter meeting.

While Hopkins was on his travels to London and Moscow, the President, aware of our failure in preceding weeks to help Russia substantially, discussed the subject with his cabinet. That story can best be told in his own words taken from a memorandum to me dated August 2, 1941. He said:

"I raised the point in cabinet on Friday that nearly six weeks have elapsed since the Russian war began and that we have done practically nothing to get any of the materials they asked for on their actual way to delivery in Siberia."

On Saturday morning following the August 1 cabinet meeting, the President told me over long distance of the cabinet discussion, and of the responsibility he was placing on me to implement his orders to aid Russia.

"Your instructions and your authority will be outlined in a memorandum which I will leave for you," he said. He left Washington to be gone for more than two weeks.

On Monday morning the memorandum arrived.

"Please get out the list and please, with my full authority, use a heavy hand—act as a burr under the saddle and get things moving!" FDR's memo said to me.

Further on, the memo read:

"I have told the Russians that I am dividing things into two categories—first, material which can be delivered on the Russian western front in time to take part in battle between September first and October first—and secondly, those materials which could not get there before October first. I have chosen that date because after October first we all doubt if there will be very active operations in view of rain, snow, frost, etc., and that if Germany can be held until then Russia is safe until the spring.

"Step on it!"

THE "LIST" to which Mr. Roosevelt referred was handed to the President by Lieutenant General Filip Ivanovitch Golikov and Engineer General Alexander Repin, heads of the first Soviet military mission to this country, and Russian Ambassador Oumansky. Before their conference with the President, export licenses had been issued for supplies held by Amtorg, purchasing agent for the Soviet government in the United States. (Export licenses had been refused Amtorg following the Nazi-Soviet Pact of August, 1939.) About $9 million worth of supplies were thus immediately released, but no military weapons were included.

The first procurement of military supplies for Russia was approved on July 22, 1941, by the President on the basis of recommendations made to him by a committee to review Soviet requests convened under the chairmanship of Colonel Phillip Faymonville, a former Military Attaché in Moscow and this country's

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best-informed officer on Russia. This list included supplies valued at approximately $22 million. Conflict over the question of aiding Russia broke out openly in the first negotiations of the review committee. Our Army representatives resisted vigorously on the basis of their own needs, as well as Great Britain's, for the limited supplies available.

It became apparent that presidential approval of a military procurement program was no assurance that it would be accomplished speedily. This situation was not understandable to the Russians, who were used to doing as Stalin told them, without delay or argument. It resulted in the Russian Ambassador making himself quite objectionable in some high governmental quarters. His actions provided an additional excuse, if any were needed, for "bucking" the aid-to-Russia program on the part of those who had swallowed Hitler's propaganda line that he was ready to make an honorable peace with Britain if Germany could have a free hand in Eastern Europe.

FDR's ORDER to "Get things moving" was not easily accomplished in such an atmosphere. Our own Army and Navy were impoverished. Britain and China were in dire need. Congress and the American press were demanding more supplies for the Army then in training. The real question was: "Where is the war now being fought?"

Little by little there came to be understanding that Russia's ability to hold off the German hordes gave us greater time to train and equip our Army and Navy and build up our military production program. As that opinion grew, the Russian supply program grew. Its dollar value reached approximately $15 million by October first, one of the deadlines established by the President. The supplies sent included machine tools (greatly needed in the United States), other industrial equipment, aviation gasoline, toluol (high explosive), aluminum, armor plate for tanks, shoes, cloth, trucks and a token number of P-40's (from Great Britain) and light tanks. All the supplies went over the northern route to Archangel. There was considerable discussion about flying bombers, and even fighters, across Siberia, but the idea was abandoned because of Russian refusal to give us information as to location of airfields. Although the amount gotten on the way to Russia in the President's absence from August 2 to August 18 was very small, considering Russia's need, our determination to aid Russia had been clearly demonstrated.

On the date of the President's return to Washington with England's Minister of Supply Lord Beaverbrook, it was decided to send a combined Anglo-American mission to Moscow to work out plans for a continuing program for aiding the Soviets. These programs became known thereafter as Russian Protocols. Averill Harriman was chairman of the United States delegation. Other members were William L. Batt of the OPM, Major General Burns of Lend-Lease, Admiral W. H. Standley, retired (who later became Ambassador to Russia), and Major General James E. Chaney.

From July through the greater part of October, Russia was paying in United States dollars for supplies bought in this country. She had cash balances in this country of $50 million to $75 million, and believed that she could borrow the additional sums needed. But singularly unsuccessful negotiations were conducted with the RFC to borrow the additional money.

WHEN HEARINGS on renewing the Lend-Lease Act opened in late September, 1941, there was much discussion of a ban in the Act against Lend-Lease aid to Russia. Only the strongest leadership by the President prevented such action. There were still quite a few who thought, or acted as if they thought, that communism was at least as great a threat as Hitlerism.

At the very height of the battle to defend Moscow, President Roosevelt, after examining the record of the Anglo-American-Russian conference in Moscow, cabled Stalin on October 30, 1941:

"All of the military equipment and munitions items have been approved, and I have ordered that, as far as possible, the delivery of raw materials be expedited. Deliveries have been directed to commence immediately and to be fulfilled in the largest possible amounts. In an effort to obviate any financial difficulties, immediate arrangements are to be made so that supplies up to one billion dollars in value be effected under the Lend-Lease Act. If approved by the government of the USSR, I propose that the indebtedness thus incurred be subject to no interest and that the payments of the USSR do not commence until five years after the war's conclusion, and be completed over a ten-year period thereafter." He indicated that the payments would be in raw materials and other commodities.

On November 4 Stalin replied:

"Your assurance that the decisions of the conference will be carried out to the limit is deeply appreciated by the Soviet Government. Your decision, Mr. President, to grant to the Soviet Union a loan in the amount of one billion dollars subject to no interest charges and for the purpose of paying for armaments and raw materials for the Soviet Union is accepted with sincere gratitude by the Soviet Government as unusually substantial aid in its difficult and great struggle against our common enemy—bloodthirsty Hitlerism. I agree completely, on behalf of the Government of the Soviet Union, with the conditions which you outlined. . . ."

The Master Lend-Lease Agreement concluded with Russia in the summer of 1942, putting that country on the same basis as Britain and China, superseded the financial arrangements set forth in the above exchanges.

The defense of Russia thus officially became vital to the defense of the United States.

A war was won.

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Commander-in-Chief

by Admiral William D. Leahy

His wide knowledge of history, geography and world politics, combined with a lifelong interest in the strategic use of seapower, eminently qualified Franklin D. Roosevelt to assume, upon our entrance into World War II, his constitutional duties as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy.

From the very outset, the global nature of the war, together with our initial shortages of trained manpower, equipment and transportation, made it necessary to decide which of the major war theatres would be given priority in the assignment of available resources. After consultation with the United States and British Chiefs of Staff, and with Prime Minister Churchill, President Roosevelt decided to throw the major weight of the United States war effort first into the European conflict. All subsequent decisions involving major strategic plans were discussed with the President by the Chiefs of Staff, and, when once a course of action was selected with the approval of the President, its tactical implementation was left to the commanders in the field.

President Roosevelt was intensely interested in the day-to-day progress of all land, sea and air operations. In the White House Map Room, up-to-the-minute charts and diagrams showed the daily distribution of all the major armed forces of the United Nations. This information, which the President studied in detail with sufficient frequency to keep himself always fully informed, coupled with the daily reports made to him by his personal Chief of Staff, enabled President Roosevelt, in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief, to exercise active direction of major strategy and to follow the tactical development of planned operations. Unified control of the armed forces was thus achieved, in the manner prescribed by the far-seeing men who drafted the Constitution of the United States.

The successful conclusion of the greatest war in history is adequate proof of the soundness of the system and of the high competency of President Roosevelt as the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States.

Admiral Leahy is the Chief of Staff to the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army and Navy.

He Fought for Democracy

by Senator Claude Pepper

On June 27, 1936, in a Philadelphia auditorium, Franklin Delano Roosevelt stood before the delegates of the Democratic Party in convention assembled, and told them why he willingly accepted the renomination to the office of President of the United States which they had just offered him.

As he viewed the crowded hall, and heard the cheers which greeted him, I am sure that the President had in his heart not exultation, not pride, not a partisan sense of victory, but rather a deep and nearly tragic sense of responsibility.

For it was with these ominous words that the President closed his acceptance speech before that 1936 convention:

> In this world of ours in other lands, there are some people who, in times past, have lived and fought for freedom, and seem to have grown too weary to carry on the fight. They have sold their heritage of freedom for the illusion of a living. They have yielded their democracy.
>
> I believe in my heart that only our success can stir their ancient hope. They begin to know that here in America we are waging a great and successful war. It is not alone a war against want and destitution and economic demoralization. It is more than that; it is a war for the survival of democracy. We are fighting to save a great and precious form of government for ourselves and for the world.

Since the summer day in 1936 when Franklin Roosevelt spoke those memorable words, ten years of incredible struggle and worldwide disaster have passed. Throughout nine of them, the man who spoke thus remained at the helm of his nation's ship of state. During all that time he guided it through the complex and treacherous channels of domestic policy for the people's welfare; and moreover, for the last half of the decade, he also led it through the awful storms of war toward a victory which, though he could not live to see it achieved, he knew would come.

Both in peace and in war, President Roosevelt had

Claude Pepper, Junior Senator from Florida, has long been identified with New Deal policies.

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one dominating idea in his mind. That one idea was, quite simply, that his function was to strengthen and refine the processes of democracy, and to elevate and inform the citizens of this nation so that they could themselves become responsible for the democratic carrying-out of policies best suited to their needs.

He never once, in all his life as President, lost his faith in the democratic process. Unlike some who surrounded him, unlike some of his own appointees, who, after his death, turned to some degree away from his hard and practical faith in the rightness of popular government, democratically conducted, FDR knew that *if the nation's leadership, as elected by the people, was liberal, progressive, democratic, the huge majority of the voters would support it without fail.*

Roosevelt's personal disappointments in the democratic process—and he had many—were limited usually to defects he discovered among the men and women whom he had chosen to work with him, and who were his immediate strength. I always remember his remarks on his own most enthusiastic and steadfast backers among the people, the liberals and the progressives. It was at Los Angeles, on October 1, 1935, as he was en route to give a major address at the San Diego Exposition, that he aired some of his feelings about the difficulties he had to overcome in working with the liberal but often painfully individualistic men and women of the New Deal:

> Years ago President Wilson told me a story. He said that the greatest problem that the head of a progressive democracy had to face was not the criticisms of reactionaries, or the attacks of those who would set up some other form of government, but rather to reconcile and unite progressive liberals themselves. . . . Because most liberals are able to see beyond the end of their own noses, they are very apt to want to reach their goal by different roads. . . . In order to make their efforts successful, [they] must find common ground and a common road, each making some concession as to form and method, in order that all may obtain the substance of what all desire.

IN THESE WORDS, to a degree, is the clue to the tremendous strides which our democracy took under Franklin D. Roosevelt. For more than any one before in our whole history—more than Lincoln, more than Jefferson, more than Wilson—the New Deal President was able to unite behind him the whole progressive power of the people of America.

FDR's program was theirs. It included economic security for all, decent standards of living, better wages and farm incomes, protection of labor's rights, better health facilities, better housing, better education, a fair opportunity for personal advancement—and, most of all, peace within the nation and among the nations. And he of all Americans in history knew best how to achieve that program.

It was his job to act as catalyst and coördinator for the innumerable forces for good among the people. He knew that, thus directed, they themselves could quell the efforts of monopoly capital, of native fascists and racists, of all the status-quo forces of reaction, to retard the people's welfare and cripple democracy. The results of his work are writ large in our lawbooks and in the hearts of the average American citizen.

THE WAR EMERGENCY caused a temporary halt in this work—in order to preserve it, to maintain it strong and intact. Franklin Roosevelt and his associates with him knew that to win the war the nation had to unite all its parts—progressives and conservatives, labor and management, farmers and city people, and all the diffuse and disputing groups into which our population is divided—into a single, smoothly working machine for victory.

Long-term aims, basic economic struggles, political reforms of a great variety, had to be laid on the shelf while the overwhelming job of beating down the Nazi-Fascist Axis, west and east, was accomplished. But that did not mean the abdication for all time of the New Deal concept of government for and by and of the great masses of the people. It was a temporary, for-the-duration measure.

Indeed, as the President himself said in his Annual Message to Congress on January 3, 1940, it was "in a very real and a very deep sense, the fundamental safeguard of all democracy," since it meant that by achieving unity, we achieved the strength to keep not only ourselves free, but also to free those other nations of the world which had fallen under the heel of the German-Italian-Japanese war monster.

But even in the midst of the war, Franklin Roosevelt continued to work for his aims of peace. Even then, when it was essential that the isolationists, the monopolists and the reactionaries generally be brought into the total effort for victory by granting them short-term concessions, he had the courage and the vision to give to the people the magnificent Economic Bill of Rights on which he proposed to base the future internal policy of the nation. Even then, as in his 1945 Message on the State of the Union, he indicated the lines along which he believed the future international relations of the world should develop—peace and friendship among the Big Three, as the essential basis for the foundation of the United Nations Organization, and as the surest guarantee of lasting world peace.

He did not abdicate his position as the Great Democrat, even under the pressures of war and the terrible national and international emergency which confronted him. Nor would he slide back from that position today, were he alive. Never would he give encouragement to reaction by failing to fight monopoly and big-business pressures in America, or by failing to attack, constantly and vigilantly, all fascist regimes remaining overseas.

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Certainly he would have fought for a full-employment economy, for he was realist enough to know that without full employment here at home there could never be a peaceful or prosperous economy on the international scene, and consequently no assurance of a lasting peace. And he would also have fought with all his strength against the ominous trend in American life to move away from democracy toward militarization of our whole economy, and from international friendship and coöperation to a policy of "getting tough" with nations which were once our allies and are still our friends.

Throughout his long tenure as President of the United States, he worked for international amity, and he would have continued to do so unswervingly. FDR feared no one—no internal enemy or foreign friend. He could get along with the Soviet Union, for instance, now as before and during the war, because he had no pathological fear of Russia's system, or of Russia's government. He had Premier Stalin's confidence, and Stalin had his. Consequently he was able to deal on a much higher and more intelligent plane with the USSR than has been the case since his death.

Where Franklin Roosevelt had faith, his courage would drive him. This is why so many self-satisfied, economically powerful, yet fearful individuals in the upper brackets of our society hated him so. They saw that he really meant it when he said he was for *the people*. He acted on that position. He continued to act on it as long as he was given life and strength to do so. And he would never have stopped acting on it had he been granted a further period as President.

He had faith in the people. Having that faith, he viewed the future of democracy as utterly secure—secure with the security derived from millennia of struggle against the forces of Darkness, the forces that for ages have tried to suppress and oppress the popular will. He knew that in the long run the enemies of the people would be defeated by the people themselves, nationally and internationally.

Perhaps the clearest definition President Roosevelt ever gave of what he meant by democracy, what his ideal of a truly free life for the people was, was given when he spoke before the Eighth Pan American Scientific Congress in Washington, on May 10, 1940:

> We, and most of the people in the world, still believe in a civilization of construction and not of destruction. We, and most of the people of the world, still believe that men and women have an inherent right to hew out the patterns of their own individual lives, just so long as they as individuals do not harm their fellow beings. We call this ideal by many terms which are synonymous—we call it individual liberty, we call it civil liberty, and, I think, best of all, we call it democracy.

Were he alive today, Franklin Delano Roosevelt would not only repeat every word of that without change. He would continue, as he did during his whole public life, to carry out its principles in practical, everyday, national and international policy.

Nothing could have swerved him from that ideal.

His Rendezvous with History

by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.

ONE CAN SEE NOW how his whole life prepared Franklin Roosevelt for his presidency. His family and schooling gave him graciousness, poise and superb assurance. The New York Legislature taught him politics. The first war instructed him in the world—in the vocabulary of power as well as idealism. Illness compelled him to pause and meditate; it enlarged his perspectives and it precipitated sterner qualities in a charming personality. His active and alert wife kept his mind interested in the broad social problems. Albany trained his attention on specific economic issues: public power, agriculture, conservation, unemployment, labor standards. Then the crisis which had spread across the land since October, 1929, set in motion the great challenge which called into play all his fragments of experience and all his resources of buoyancy and vigor.

The United States at the end of 1932 was a country few recognized then and fewer remember now. Sullen men lived miserably in Hoovervilles, fought pathetically against farm-mortgage foreclosures, marched desperately on Washington to collect bonus payments, and huddled against winter blasts, waiting in bitter lines for bread and soup. Herbert Hoover dedicated himself to the theory that the forces which brought the depression would bring the revival; and his succession of doctrinaire vetoes sought to beat down the confused demand that the government do something.

The election of 1932 had brought a new sense of hope. Few considered Franklin Roosevelt a very strong or a very profound man; but the warmth and energy of his personality inspired confidence, and close observers could detect a new and bolder philosophy of government lurking behind the innocent generalities of his speech at the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco and behind such phrases as "the forgotten man" and "the New Deal."

Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., the author of The Age of Jackson *(Little, Brown), is currently working on* The Age of Roosevelt.

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The debut—with the bank holiday, the strong, ringing tones of the President and the evaporation of fear—serves almost as a symbol of the Roosevelt policy. The cycle was to be repeated many times: stagnation and despair; a bold presidential stroke restoring hope; quick and spectacular legislative action; and a conclusion which represented a substantial improvement but not a permanent solution. When Roosevelt finished with the banking crisis, the banks were established on a sounder basis than ever before in our history. Whether he might have taken the opportunity to nationalize the banking system is a question which used to exercise radicals in the middle thirties but which is really based on a misunderstanding of Roosevelt's purposes.

THE HUNDRED DAYS thus began, with their brilliant, resourceful and somewhat chaotic moves, to prop up a crippled system—the start of a career of prolonged and ingenious improvisation. What else could there be but improvisation? Roosevelt, with his enlarged conception of governmental responsibility, had to face problems without administrative precedent and without trained personnel, and he had to act fast. No one knew better than he the tentative character of his program. "The country demands bold, persistent experimentation," he had said in the campaign. "It is common sense to take a method and try it. If it fails, admit it frankly and try another." This was to be his rule (except for the part about admitting failure frankly).

The Agricultural Adjustment Act tried to solve the eternal farm problem by curtailing crop production. The Public Works Administration was set up to expand purchasing power through public works. Under Harold Ickes' cautious management, it remained free from suspicion of graft at the price of a slow start in its job of stimulating recovery. The Works Progress Administration brought Harry Hopkins into the national picture and confirmed the intimacy with the President which had begun in New York. The WPA became the great challenge to New Deal ingenuity. Though some of its projects were correctly denounced as boondoggling, the total WPA achievement was substantial and its contributions to cultural life rich and varied.

In certain respects the National Industrial Recovery Act was most significant for the future development of the New Deal. First emerging from various proposals to put a floor under wages, NIRA turned into an experiment in business self-regulation. The government, in exchange for acceptance of minimum wages by business, undertook to enforce codes of fair competition set up more or less by business itself. These codes brought with them immunity from the anti-trust laws. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States had formulated the general ideas behind what became the National Recovery Administration; and these ideas found a sympathetic hearing among presidential advisers who believed that economic concentration was inevitable, that the government should work with big business in establishing the ground rules and that the opportunity should be seized to protect labor from the consequences of unbridled competition. Labor collaboration was bought by measures close to the President's heart—the abolition of child labor, minimum working hours and minimum wages, better conditions and, above all, Section 7A, with its guarantees for collective bargaining.

In operation it soon became clear that the big companies were running away with the show. The exemption from anti-trust prosecution led to the happy public indulgence in such formerly secret vices as price fixing and production quotas. While Section 7A encouraged considerable honest labor organization, it was also diluted in many cases to permit the formation of company unions; and labor's bitterness found expression in an outburst of strikes. Moreover, though there was an upswing in business, it did not look as if the NRA were going to deliver the goods on employment and production. When the Supreme Court bailed out the President by calling the whole thing off in 1935, Roosevelt, after his somewhat ungrateful explosion at the Court, wisely abandoned the experiment.

THE FAILURE of the NRA was accompanied by a growing bitterness toward business and a basic redirection of the New Deal. This change, which took place late in 1934 and early in 1935, was signalized as well as anything by the fall of the first brain trust and the rise of a new set of presidential advisers. When he first went to Washington, Roosevelt had surrounded himself with a group of men—Raymond Moley, Adolf Berle, Rex Tugwell, Hugh Johnson, Donald Richberg—who shared in some degree the belief that bigness was here to stay. With many shades and variations, these men were convinced of the futility both of trust-busting and of nationalization and were seeking some means of stabilizing the economy through (in Moley's phrase) "coöperative business-government planning." They had little use for competition, which they identified with subsistence wages and sweatshops, and they had considerable confidence in the good will of repentant businessmen and in the possibilities of industrial self-government under federal supervision.

A conversation in July, 1934, between Moley and Tom Corcoran revealed the new attitude. Corcoran observed of the composition of the newly established SEC, "Four are for us and one is for business." This shocked Moley, who replied with some heat that he had no class-struggle conception of reform and that Corcoran and his friends had better not think of themselves as warriors in a battle against business.

But the new brain trust did, in fact, have that conception, and they were soon joined in it by the President. Roosevelt had remarked on signing NIRA, "It is a challenge to industry, which has long insisted that, given the right to act in unison, it could do much for the general good which has hitherto been unlawful.

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From today it has that right." He had leaned over backwards to give business its head; the Wagner Act, it should be remembered, was not an Administration measure and was accepted by Roosevelt only after the invalidation of the NRA. And the result of business self-government? Restrictions on production, chiseling of labor and of 7A, squeezing-out of small business, savage personal criticism of the President and the general tendency to trample everyone down in the rush for profits. Experience was teaching Roosevelt what instinct and doctrine had taught Jefferson and Jackson: that, to reform capitalism, you must fight the capitalists tooth and nail.

Roosevelt's new advisers—Harry Hopkins, Harold Ickes, Tom Corcoran and Ben Cohen—encouraged his natural tendencies to fight it out on a more liberal line. At the same time, the raucous activities of Huey Long and of other pseudo-radical prophets (Father Coughlin and Dr. Townsend), as well as the labor militancy stirred by John L. Lewis, showed the political necessity for a tack to the Left.

The result was the New Deal as we chiefly remember it—that determined, stalwart, eloquent fight against business domination, conducted by FDR at his fighting best, backed by the loyal and alert intelligence of the New Dealers and by the coöperation of city machines, trade unions, liberal Republicans, Progressives and Farmer Laborites, writers and intellectuals, and the other elements in the New Deal coalition. The conciliatory tone (which showed up as late as the "breathing spell" letter to Roy Howard in 1935) pretty well vanished, not to return until it was necessary to mobilize a united nation for war.

THE 1936 ELECTION justified the fighting spirit. Conservatism, trounced at the polls, was still entrenched in the judiciary; and Roosevelt, exhilarated by victory, moved on in the manner of other liberal Presidents to attack the Supreme Court.

The attack on the Court marked the high point of confident liberalism—liberalism so confident indeed that it blithely skipped over the facts of political life. The measure itself was disingenuous. It was cooked up in conspiratorial jocularity by the President and his Attorney General and was sprung without preparation on his lieutenants, both in the cabinet and in Congress. The tactics of the campaign were maladroit, and the disastrous political result was to introduce the habit of disunity into the Democratic Party.

Nevertheless the New Deal instinct to back the court-packing measure was probably correct, given the concrete situation. Recurrent attacks on the Supreme Court are an essential part of the physiology of our system; they constitute the natural and wholesome process by which the tissues of the Court are restored before they are fatally overstrained.

But the political price of even this partial victory was the alliance we have come to know so well between the conservative Democrats and the Republicans. What Burt Wheeler joined together, Roosevelt could never quite put asunder. The so-called "purge" of 1938 snapped further bonds of party loyalty; and the President's growing concern with the South as "the nation's No. 1 economic problem" warned the Southern Bourbons that new popular forces might be unleashed against them. Thus began that long and destructive guerrilla warfare which was to reduce the New Deal to practical impotence by 1943 and to shambles by 1946.

This breaking-up of the Democratic Party was all the more unfortunate since it coincided with the gradual clarification of the New Deal economic program. The proscription of the NRA enabled the New Dealers to clear the decks and begin anew on the problems of the American economy. This enterprise concentrated on two questions: recovery, and the final shape of the economic system.

DURING Roosevelt's first term, problems rained on the White House so furiously that the President could only improvise for short-term relief, not plan for long-term solutions. But, somewhere out of the welter of legislation, economic recovery received stimulus, and the curve of business activity began to go up. About this time Keynesian views of public spending were domesticated by Marriner Eccles and Alvin Hansen. The recession of 1937-38, following the drastic cutbacks on spending in 1937, supplied the advocates of spending with a kind of circumstantial support; and the massive success of war spending in solving problems of production and employment appeared to demonstrate beyond reasonable doubt that you can stop the downward swing of the business cycle.

The theory thus received the baptism of fire that prosperity depends on the maintenance of a high level of the national income; and that this high level, in turn, depends on the maintenance of capital formation and of purchasing power. Oversaving will cause a sag in both real investment and consumption and thus a sag in the national income. When such a decline begins, the government must offset the decrease in private spending by subsidizing capital formation and by subsidizing purchasing power. The New Deal had, in fact, been following such a policy of compensatory spending through the PWA, the WPA and other agencies; and the closest students concluded that basic recovery would come in response to such government outlays.

The development of the anti-depression program was accompanied by a pretty thoroughgoing revision of NRA notions about American economic life. This process involved a restudy of the role of the concentration of economic power in restricting production. It was marked by the rise to dominance of people more or less in the Brandeis tradition (many of them brought to Washington by Felix Frankfurter): Corcoran, Cohen, Landis, Douglas, Arnold, and the economists Henderson, Currie and Lubin. It culminated in

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the appointment of the Temporary National Economic Committee in 1938, whose conclusions are embodied in the TNEC monographs of 1940-41.

Roosevelt's terms of reference for the TNEC showed the great change from the days of the NRA. The NRA, he had said in 1933, "represents a supreme effort to stabilize for all time the many factors which make for the prosperity of the nation." But in 1938 he denounced interlocking financial controls for having taken away from American business "much of its traditional virility, independence, adaptability and daring." The basic TNEC thesis was "not that the system of free private enterprise for profit had failed in this generation, but that it has not yet been tried." The new effort was aimed, not at stability, but at giving business incentives to take risks, expand production and assume the main burden of maintaining the rate of real investment, all within an economy bounded by social security and by guaranteed rights for labor.

BY THE TIME the TNEC conclusions were fully formulated, however, Roosevelt's attention had turned to a new and more urgent problem—the problem of the Axis war. From the very start, he had shown a more realistic appreciation of international politics than most of his advisers. Before his inauguration in 1933, when he issued a statement endorsing the Stimson policy in the Far East, Tugwell and Moley spent hours trying to convince him that this type of foreign solicitude was a "tragic mistake." New Dealers used to explain away Roosevelt's support of naval appropriations as some kind of personal whim or hobby. Roosevelt himself was sufficiently impressed by this isolationist theorizing (as late as 1938 Jerome Frank could write a book called *Save America First*) and by the pressure of such potent groups as the Western liberals and the Roman Catholics to accept the neutrality legislation and to embark on the course toward Spain which Sumner Welles later called the "cardinal error" of his foreign policy.

Yet he was aware from the start of America's world responsibilities. (His action in wrecking the London Conference, it should be recalled, was not necessarily isolationist and had the support of Englishmen like Keynes.) He gave full backing to Cordell Hull's reciprocal-tariff program and to Sumner Welles's good-neighbor policy; and he early perceived the challenge to civilization presented by Nazism. Beginning with his "quarantine" speech of 1937, he undertook that long labor of public education which achieved by Pearl Harbor a fairly united understanding of the broad issues of the war.

Roosevelt had, on the whole, a conservative conception of the war; it was for him a war of survival, not a war of revolution. The New Deal receded from the White House, partly because the President was impressed (perhaps over-impressed) with the need for bribing business to give all-out support to war production, partly because his lively concern for military strategy absorbed his main energies. For him, as for Churchill and Stalin, military affairs took all precedence—a fact much resented by liberals who thought the war could be won by making a few political appeals.

Yet the American President, while losing interest in the New Deal at home and sometimes exceeding the requirements of military security in right-wing political maneuvers abroad, was at the same time becoming increasingly the leader of world democracy. The American warmth, abundance and simplicity he so perfectly embodied seemed to promise more to mankind than the indomitable toryism of Churchill or the ruthless communism of Stalin; and, at the same time, his brilliant success in achieving substantial American unity behind the international organization provided solid hope for its future. FDR appeared in the tripartite conferences as the great mediator, balancing small nations against large, Britain against Russia, in the interests of common humanity; and the strain told. The newsreels of Yalta, showing his hair turned white, his face drawn and haggard, the black cloak around his shoulders, revealed him under the burden of awful responsibilities—tired, sick, but somehow mature and disinterested as never before.

HIS LEGACY? At home, he had passed on the New Deal banner to Wallace, who, emerging in the late thirties as the most original and perhaps the most politically negotiable of the New Dealers, received the vice-presidency in 1940. Next to Roosevelt himself, Wallace had articulated New Deal aspirations more eloquently than anyone else.

But Wallace's defeat in the Chicago convention of 1944—a defeat cheerfully acquiesced in by the President—expressed the exhaustion of the reform impulse. The war was in part responsible for this, by diverting the energies of the New Dealers to a greater and more serious issue which was not in the strict sense a reform issue. But the time, too, was against the New Deal. It had done its job of relieving the main national anxieties and it had probably run its course in the popular affections. Under Roosevelt or Wallace the collapse of the New Deal might not have been so complete or so pathetic as it has been under Truman, but the fatality of history suggests that there would have been a similar collapse.

Yet the New Deal performed its necessary tasks well. It kept vital options open in American life. It faced up to an economic crisis that was widening rapidly into a moral and spiritual crisis, and it brought the country through, morally renewed and economically on a far sounder basis. Its accomplishments are so much a part of the landscape that the twenties have acquired in retrospect the character of fantasy. Perhaps the best evidence for the extent to which the New Deal has reshaped American ideas about society is to be found in the Republican platforms from 1932 to 1944.

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The New Deal, moreover, through the Wagner Act and related policies, established the labor movement in politics and thereby secured the basis for its own revival. It provided, in addition, an inheritance of economic theory which may stop the next depression. The techniques of compensatory spending have now won acceptance even in certain sections of the business community, and they will be used much more swiftly and effectively as a result of the experience of the New Deal.

The implications of the New Deal for the shape of the American economy are less clear-cut. "The power of a few to manage the economic life of the nation," Roosevelt said in his instructions to the TNEC, "must be diffused among the many or be transferred to the public and its democratically responsible government." But the TNEC solution of anti-monopoly combined with compensatory spending and social security is not so simple as it sounds, as many persons connected with the TNEC were certainly aware. The New Dealers made no fundamental attempt to grapple with the problem of the economies of concentration—there are a good many—or of the decline in outlets for real investment. The formula of a return to free competition among small units in a social-security state will not produce prosperity; and public spending, to be effective, will require a volume of capital formation which will rapidly bring government into new areas of economic activity.

It seems likely, then, that the question of the type of government activity will become acute. The European experience has corroded our faith (if, as followers of Jefferson, we ever had any) in the virtues of total state ownership; but the New Deal contribution to the exploration of other possibilities has been limited. In this light the TVA may seem in the long run its great administrative innovation. As a form of public ownership which does not conduce to economic or political centralization, the TVA provides a model to which officials seeking investment outlets for government funds will pay close attention. This will be one basic economic problem inherited from the New Deal: the search for means of public spending which will not tend toward the establishment of oppressive political institutions. The other is the perpetual question of how to control big business; and here the New Dealers came up with the only answer that seems to work in a capitalist democracy: Scare hell out of it.

FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT'S great domestic achievement, in brief, was to introduce the United States to the twentieth century. He redressed the defects of the Jeffersonian tradition by equipping the liberal party with a philosophy of government intervention—a belief, as he put it, that "the government has the definite duty to use all its power and resources to meet new social problems with new social controls." Roosevelt and Wallace stated this new philosophy in a way that will still basically remold our democratic tradition.

In the short run, it must be admitted, the very dominance of the Roosevelt personality had a somewhat stultifying effect after the first fighting years. FDR became the father symbol of the American Left, relieving individuals of their private burdens of responsibility. He himself nourished the prevailing conviction of his indispensability by tearing down, not altogether carelessly, the men whom he thrust forward at various times as a possible successor—the Jacksons, Wallaces, Douglases and so on. His administrative methods, moreover, were insouciant, disorderly and often demoralizing—hardly tolerable during the New Deal, and often intolerable during the war. But, in the long run, he has contributed vitally to the strengthening of our democratic resources. His reinvigoration of American confidence has paid off on a hundred battlefields. As a fighter for democracy, he is enshrined in the national imagination with Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln.

AND HIS LEGACY for the world? It does not seem likely that Roosevelt could have arrested the collapse in international relations any more than he could that of the New Deal. Yet he surely would not have handled the atom bomb with the singular gracelessness of his successor; and, by his force as a person and his resourcefulness as a mediator, he would have done much to prevent the embittered relations between Britain and the USSR. Still it could only have been the personal success of a virtuoso, not the fundamental settlement of a statesman. It is hard to see what permanent solution Roosevelt could have made—if indeed any can be made—to the problem of Soviet expansion.

In the long run, his achievement was in keeping open alternatives that might otherwise have been closed—alternatives of freedom and prosperity at home, of democracy and peace in the world; his was a holding action rather than a capture of new bridgeheads. But in a century when the jungle grows up to the dooryards, it is useful to know that you are holding your own, that some paths are still kept clear.

His shortcomings vanish in the general perspective of his supreme success: that is, in the restoration of America as a fighting faith, and in the restoration of democracy as a workable way of life. He took a broken and despairing land and gave it new confidence in itself. Not perhaps new confidence; but rather a revival of the ancient faith in the free people which, speaking through Jefferson and Jackson and Lincoln, has been our great source of national strength. He had a vision of democratic America and the strength to realize a good part of that vision; and, in due course, he brought his resilience, gayety and courage to the solution of the larger problems of the world. All his solutions were incomplete. But then all great problems are insoluble. He left us the fighting spirit and the broad democratic faith in which we may strive to advance the solutions a few steps further.

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HIS FAITH

Founder of the United Nations

by Edward R. Stettinius

THE ONLY LIMIT to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith."

These are the last words of President Roosevelt's last speech. He had planned to deliver it on April 13 in the course of a radio broadcast observing the anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson. In it he stated again one of his most profound convictions—the interdependence of all peoples and this country's great responsibility as one of the world's most powerful peoples. The preëminent fact of our times, he said, is that if civilization is to survive, "we must cultivate the science of human relationships—the ability of all peoples of all kinds to live together and work together in the same world at peace."

That undelivered speech represents far more than a legacy. In what were almost his dying words he expressed his living philosophy. They are part of the beliefs which he hoped would always be a vital expression of our natural character.

The message in this last speech is especially pertinent today. I am sure he meant it for times of doubt and difficulty such as we are now experiencing. I am sure, too, that it contained the key to his hopes for the future of the United Nations. As a political realist he knew that such an organization had to take account of the facts of today or it would fail to receive public acceptance and effective and honest support by member governments. But his abiding faith in humanity extended to far horizons his concept of the potentialities of an organization of the world's peoples and their governments. It would, in fact, be difficult to bound his vision of the future of the United Nations.

It is important to remember that his vision was fully tempered in the crucible of experience—experience not without its portion of disappointments and setbacks. As Assistant Secretary of the Navy in Woodrow Wilson's administration he had closely watched the struggle for the League of Nations. And as the Democratic Party's candidate for the vice-presidency in 1920 he carried on the unsuccessful campaign to win public acceptance of the League.

These early experiences made a deep and lasting impression on him. He emerged from them with two convictions which he translated into action at every available opportunity: that the idea of world organization must be patiently and steadily developed in people's minds, and that if an international organization is to succeed, the *habit* of formulating and adhering to established rules of international conduct must be consciously and constantly cultivated.

He had learned from President Wilson's experience that a great idealistic conception does not automatically win support; that the greater the idea the longer it takes for masses of people to understand and adopt it; that a leader who gets too far ahead of his battalions may lose touch with them. And so, beginning early in his administration, he consciously sought to help the people of the United States feel a sense of participation, a sense of responsibility, in world affairs.

In his first inaugural address he proclaimed the policy of the good neighbor in all our foreign relations. And his second fireside chat, barely two months later, in May, 1933, carried the theme which was sounded time and time again until the day of his death: ". . . The domestic situation is inevitably and deeply tied in with the conditions in all of the other nations in the world." In the same speech he warned that American prosperity "will not be permanent unless we get a return to prosperity all over the world." In his later talks, both public and private, he stressed how modern methods of communication had increased the interdependence of peoples. All of us can recall, I think, the sobering speech in which he sought to shake us from our false sense of security by merely reciting the flying time by bomber between major American cities and bases potentially within the Nazi grasp.

BUT HIS IMAGINATION was challenged far more, I know, by the peacetime promise of swift communication. I remember how pleased he was with an aviation company's advertising campaign which stressed that no place in the world was more than 60 hours from any local airport. In his 1944 Acceptance Speech he devoted six paragraphs to developing this very point. Only in our generation, he said, have people been "compelled more and more to widen the orbit of their vision to include every part of the world. . . . Some day soon we shall all be able to fly to any other part of the world within 24 hours. . . . Therefore, if for no other reason, we must take a leading part in the maintenance of peace and in the increase of trade among all nations of the world." And in his very last speech he expressed this thought again. "Today," he said, "science has brought all the different quarters of the globe so close together it is impossible to isolate them one from another."

He felt that here was a fact within the realm of possible experience for every man, woman and child;

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a fact that would ultimately make a war between continents as inconceivable as a war would be today between New York and Pennsylvania, or, for that matter, between the United States and Canada or Mexico.

During the nineteen thirties a majority of the American people still clung to the doctrines of isolationism. This majority steadily decreased under the impact of events abroad and President Roosevelt did much to hasten the awakening by other means than speeches. It was during this period that the policy of the Good Neighbor was given wide and effective application in the Western Hemisphere—an area in which Americans were then willing to accept far greater international responsibilities than elsewhere.

Before the end of President Roosevelt's first year in office, the Good Neighbor policy had been firmly launched at the Montevideo Conference. Thus began the system of multi-lateral consideration of hemispheric problems on a scale never theretofore attempted. North and South Americans joined time and again—at Lima, at Buenos Aires, at Havana—to plan coördinated action. President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull accomplished a truly revolutionary change in the relationships of the American republics and opened up a great new area of the world to organized international action. It was a typical example of the political sagacity with which President Roosevelt moved toward the organization of the world as a whole for peace.

As EVENTS were to prove, there was not enough time to accomplish the organization of the world for peace before it had been taught the terrible lesson of the war just ended. During the years before the war the President had sought repeatedly to arouse his countrymen to the danger ahead in Europe and the Far East. The best remembered of these efforts was the Quarantine Speech at Chicago in 1937. In that speech, besides his famous warning that if general war spread over other continents "let no one imagine that America will escape," he returned to the theme which he so often reiterated—the interdependence of all nations and the necessity for their working closely together "if we are to have a world in which we can breathe freely and live in amity and without fear."

"Most important of all," he said, was this: "The will for peace on the part of peace-loving nations *must express itself to the end that nations that may be tempted to violate their agreements and the rights of others will desist from such a course. There must be positive endeavors to preserve peace.*"

Neither the people of this country nor those in other nations threatened by the Axis were then ready to accept the full implications of the warning that the will for peace "*must express itself*" if peace was to be preserved—that merely to be peace-loving was not enough to prevent war.

The war came. America, as President Roosevelt had foreseen, did not escape attack. The terrible facts of war destroyed the last myths of isolationism and made both necessary and possible the wartime alliance which was consecrated in the United Nations Declaration first signed in the White House on January 1, 1942.

The United Nations Declaration, reinforced and given effective meaning by the system of Lend-Lease, by a steadily expanding area of military collaboration, especially with Great Britain and the Soviet Union, and by the Casablanca, Cairo and Teheran meetings of the heads of government of the great Allies, was primarily directed toward winning the war. The increase in understanding and the experience gained in developing techniques of working together for war broke down many of the barriers to the organization of the world for peace.

THE DECLARATION was also the foundation stone of the United Nations as an organization to build and maintain a lasting peace after the war was won in another sense. The signatories of the Declaration subscribed to the purposes and principles of the Atlantic Charter. They thus united in the "hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." Thus, only three weeks after Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt began to build the foundations for the peace.

The years of 1942 and 1943 were years of defeat and dread anxiety during which the thoughts and energies of all of us were concentrated upon turning the tide of battle. But President Roosevelt had always upon his mind and in his heart the importance of beginning even in those days upon the organization of peace after the victory which he never doubted would be won.

He directed his efforts above all toward two ends. First, the organization should be worldwide. It should stand above all regional groupings and unite all peace-loving nations. This was essential if the world were not to be divided again in rival and hostile parts. Second, the bases of the organization should be firmly established before the war was over. It should not be left to become entangled with the process of concluding peace with the enemy, as the League had been after the last war. Both these ends were achieved. The principle of a world organization superior to all regional organizations, was accepted. The San Francisco Conference to write the United Nations Charter met before the surrender of Germany and completed the Charter before the surrender of Japan.

Soon after the United Nations Declaration had been signed at the White House, preliminary studies of international organization were begun at the State De-

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partment under Secretary Hull. When I came to the Department as Under Secretary of State in October, 1943, these studies had already advanced far enough to enable Secretary Hull to go to Moscow at the President's direction with the draft of the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, in which the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union joined in recognizing "the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

The Moscow Conference was followed by further months of preparation in the Department and by exchanges of views with Great Britain and the Soviet Union on the form of such an organization. By July we were ready to call the Dumbarton Oaks Conference which resulted in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals that later became the basis of the United Nations Charter.

It is worth recalling that the Moscow Conference was held just after the first Allied troops had landed in Italy and while the Germans were still deep inside Russia and that the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations opened before the Allied troops had liberated Paris. Although it was an election year, as well as a year of great military decisions, I remember Mr. Roosevelt's intense interest in the successful outcome of Dumbarton Oaks. In his closing message he said of the proposed organization that it represented "a major objective for which this war is being fought and, as such, inspires the hopes of the millions of fathers and mothers whose sons and daughters are engaged in the terrible struggle and suffering of war."

In the meantime the foundations of organized international action in many specific economic fields were being laid. In fact, the first United Nations conference of all, the Hot Springs Conference on Food and Agriculture, which eventually resulted in the establishment of the Food and Agriculture Organization, was held in May of 1943.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT had long believed that international coöperation in specialized fields of common interest was not only a requisite for building an effective general security system, but was an important means for establishing the habits of thinking and acting essential to general international coöperation. As early as 1920 he had declared that the only workable peace would be one that would "hold us as tightly as the business contracts of the individual." As an ardent sailor he had been impressed with the effectiveness with which international maritime rules were developed and preserved. Simultaneously with his efforts to lay the bases of a system of general security, he set out to negotiate a series of "business contracts" with other nations.

UNRRA was established in November, 1943. The Bretton Woods Conference, which has resulted in the establishment of the International Bank and Monetary Fund, was held in July, 1944. The International Aviation Conference took place in November, 1944. The Conference of Allied Ministers of Education, held in London in 1944, led eventually to the establishment of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Before his death, President Roosevelt had already discussed with me and others plans for the Conference on World Trade and Employment, which will be held later this year.

The great scope of these preparations was a reflection of Mr. Roosevelt's imaginative vision and of his conviction that the attainment of freedom from want was inextricably linked with freedom from fear of war. He knew that neither could be achieved unless the nations developed and used the techniques of working together for common ends as good neighbors.

These related efforts, in all of which the United States, under President Roosevelt's leadership, took the initiative, have their text in the fifth point of the Atlantic Charter under which the United Nations subscribed to "the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security." The genesis of the United Nations Economic and Social Council and of the human-rights provisions of the United Nations Charter is to be found in this provision of that earlier Charter, written in 1941 with almost unbelievable faith in a future of which few could then conceive.

THE Dumbarton Oaks Proposals by no means assured the establishment of the United Nations Organization. They did not settle the question of voting procedure in the Security Council. This was a question which involved the relationship of the great powers to each other and to the other nations of the world. The resolution of this question was the very heart of success or failure in the whole endeavor.

At Yalta the President proposed, and Prime Minister Churchill and Generalissimo Stalin accepted, the voting formula which is now a part of the Charter. This formula was a recognition of one of the major facts of international life in the world today—the fact that without agreement among the great powers, lasting peace will be impossible. The formula was confessedly a compromise—a compromise to win the adherence not only of the Soviet Union but of important groups in our own country. In yielding the power to the great states to veto sanctions it was far from President Roosevelt's purpose to sanctify the power of veto. On the contrary, he insisted that no state, large or small, should have the right to use force except in defense of the purposes and principles of the Charter and that no state, large or small, should

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have the right to pass upon the merits of a dispute to which it is a party. He yielded the power of veto to the great states to obtain the recognition of principles which he hoped would exercise an ever increasing restraint upon its use.

While he believed that any institution must be based on beliefs and facts as they exist if it is to have substance and life, he also believed that it must be flexible and responsive to change. Certainly he always conceived of the United States as a living, growing institution and not a static one.

ONE DAY shortly before his death he was discussing what he might say in his speech to the delegates at the coming San Francisco Conference. He said he thought the development of the American Constitution would be a good analogy; how our Constitution had been altered and molded both by formal amendments and by interpretation and usage to meet the changing conditions of our history.

President Roosevelt believed that as the nations gained experience in working together for their common advantage in many fields and as they gained confidence in each other that selfish nationalism would gradually recede. He looked at our strong national union of 48 states and remembered that once the issue of states' rights had been the principal cause of a bloody conflict. National sovereignty is still today a compelling force. It finds expression in the United Nations Charter in the right of every nation, regardless of population, to an equal vote in the Assembly just as much as in the "veto" possessed by the great powers in the Security Council. But President Roosevelt believed that in time national sovereignty would be no more vital an issue to the peoples of the world than state rights are to Americans today. He looked forward in hope and confidence to the day when the United Nations would be no longer primarily an association of sovereign governments, but of people, of men and women all over the world.

That was the ultimate goal. And he believed the plan embodied in the Charter drafted at San Francisco was the best, the most practical starting point.

The President died two weeks before the San Francisco Conference met. The United Nations Organization is now a reality. Already it is subject to storm and strain. I am sure that President Roosevelt, were he alive today, would not be surprised at that. No man in public life had a clearer understanding of history and of its lessons. His close familiarity with American history, and especially with the storm and strain which accompanied the adoption of our Constitution and the early years of the young Republic, made him realize that the United Nations Charter would be subjected to many doubts, fears and crises in its early years.

Above all things, President Roosevelt was not afraid. He would not have feared, for example, the kind of test to which the Security Council has been subjected at its very first meetings. I remember the discussion at Yalta of the provision requiring parties to a dispute to abstain from voting. In arguing for this provision, the President had stressed the vital importance which the United States attached to the right of any nation to a full and fair hearing of its case without the "veto." He stressed to Mr. Churchill and Generalissimo Stalin his view that full and free discussion in the Council would not promote disunity among the great powers but on the contrary would serve to demonstrate the confidence which the great powers had in each other and in the justice of their own policies. I believe that history will prove him right.

No one was more familiar with the necessity for patience in the achievement of great ideals than President Roosevelt. He knew that it would take years to make peace after the most disastrous and extensive war in history. But he was firmly confident that the United Nations could and would survive the storms and grow stronger in doing so. May it continue a living and growing monument to his vision, his courage and his faith in his fellow men.

The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man or one party or one nation, it cannot be just an American peace or a Russian or a French or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of large nations —or of small nations. It must be a peace which rests on the coöperative effort of the whole world.

It cannot be a structure of complete perfection at first. . . . No plan is perfect. Whatever is adopted at San Francisco will doubtless have to be amended time and again over the years, just as our own Constitution has been.

No one can say exactly how long peace will last. Peace can endure only so long as humanity really insists upon it and is willing to work for and sacrifice for it. . . .

I think the Crimean Conference was a successful effort by the three leading nations to find a common ground of peace. It spells, it ought to spell, the end of the system of unilateral action and exclusive alliances and spheres of influence and balances of power and all the other expedients that have been tried for centuries and have always failed.

We propose to substitute for all of these a universal organization in which all peace-loving nations will finally have a chance to join.

. . . That, my friends, is the only message I can give you, for I feel it very deeply, and I know that all of you are feeling it today. – *Franklin D. Roosevelt's report to Congress (March 1, 1945) on the Yalta Conference.*

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Militant Liberalism[1]

An American Faith

THERE HAVE BEEN many periods in American history, unfortunately, when one major political party was no different from the other major party—except only in name. In a system of party government such as ours, however, elections become meaningless when the two major parties have no differences other than their labels. For such elections do not give the people of the United States an opportunity to decide upon the type of government which they prefer for themselves for the next two or the next four years, as the case may be. I do not mean necessarily that expression of choice at the polls should concern itself with details, or with particular methods. But it is essential that the general trend and direction of the government should be left to the determination of a majority of the people; and the only way that they can express their will is by voting for the candidates of that party which espouses the particular trend in government which they prefer.

Generally speaking, in a representative form of government there are usually two general schools of political belief—liberal and conservative. The system of party responsibility in America requires that one of its parties be the liberal party and the other the conservative party. This has been the division by which the major parties in American history have identified themselves whenever crises have developed which required definite choice of direction. . . .

One great difference which has characterized this division has been that the liberal party—no matter what its particular name was at the time—believed in the wisdom and efficacy of the will of the great majority of the people, as distinguished from the judgment of a small minority of either education or wealth.

The liberal group has always believed that control by a few—political control or economic control, if exercised for a long period of time, would be destructive of a sound representative democracy. For this reason, for example, it has always advocated the extension of the right of suffrage to as many people as possible, trusting the combined judgment of all the people in political matters rather than the judgment of a small minority.

The other great difference between the two parties has been this: the liberal party is a party which believes that, as new conditions and problems arise beyond the power of men and women to meet as individuals, it becomes the duty of the government itself to find new remedies with which to meet them. The liberal party insists that the government has the definite duty to use all its power and resources to meet new social problems with new social controls. . . . That theory of the role of government was expressed by Abraham Lincoln when he said "the legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot do so well for themselves, in their separate or individual capacities."

The conservative party in government honestly and and conscientiously believes the contrary. It believes that there is no necessity for the government to step in, even when new conditions and new problems arise. It believes that, in the long run, individual initiative and private philanthropy can take care of all situations. The test of allegiance to one or the other of these schools of political and economic thought cannot be based on a person's views with respect to one particular measure or policy or even several of them. The test is rather whether a person adheres to the broad general objectives of the particular party as expressed in its fundamental principles.

The clear and undisputed fact is that in these later years, at least since 1932, the Democratic Party has been the liberal party, and the Republican Party has been the conservative party.

There can, of course, be no quarrel by anybody with anyone who sincerely subscribes either to the principles of liberalism or conservatism. The quarrel in 1938 was with those who said they were liberals, but who, nevertheless, proceeded to stand in the way of all social progress by objecting to any measure to carry out liberal objectives. The usual procedure of this type of liberal is to say that he believes in the objective, but that he does not like the details of the particular method proposed to carry out the objective. He says, "Yes"—that he is in favor of the end; *but* he objects to the means—at the same time offering no alternative method, and seldom, if ever, raising a finger of his own to try to obtain the ultimate objective. I have frequently referred to this type of individual as a "yes, but—" fellow.

The true liberal does not claim, of course, that the remedies with which he proposes to attain his objectives are perfect. But he is willing to start with something less than perfection in this imperfect world. The conservative, on the other hand, believes generally that all remedies proposed by the government itself are usually unnecessary, and that perfection can be obtained more readily and more quickly through private initiative.

[1] Written by Franklin Delano Roosevelt as an Introduction to Volume 7 of *The Public Papers and Addresses of FDR* (Macmillan).

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It is a comparatively simple thing for a nation to determine by its votes whether it chooses the liberal or the conservative form of government. On the other hand, a nation can never intelligently determine its policy, if it has to go through the confusion of voting for candidates who pretend to be one thing but who act the other.

I have always believed, and I have frequently stated, that my own party can succeed at the polls only so long as it continues to be the party of militant liberalism. I do not mean to imply that only enrolled Democrats are liberal voters. I do not mean to imply, on the other hand, that only enrolled Republicans are conservative voters. There is a vast number of independent voters who are unwilling to become affiliated with either party, but whose social and political outlook is definitely liberal, and whose votes have been cast for liberal candidates. On the other hand, millions of enrolled Republican voters . . . have nevertheless consistently voted for the type of government and candidates who appear under the liberal banner.

But, as the head of the Democratic Party, I think that it is nothing more nor less than political consistency for the candidates standing for election on the liberal program of my party to act like liberals after the election is over.

It was that belief, and the complete realization of the fact that some Democratic candidates had acted in repudiation of progressive and liberal government, that I took an active part in some of the primary elections of 1938—in an effort to keep liberalism in the foreground in the councils of my own party, as well as in the legislative and executive branches of the government itself.

My participation in these primary campaigns was slurringly referred to by those who were opposed to liberalism as a "purge." The word became a slogan for those who tried to misrepresent my conduct to make it appear to be an effort to defeat certain Senators and Representatives who had voted against one measure or another recommended by me—particularly those who voted against the Supreme Court bill of 1937. Nothing could be further from the truth. I was not interested in personalities. Nor was I interested in particular measures—because most of the liberal measures I had recommended had already passed. I was, however, primarily interested in seeing to it that the Democratic Party and the Republican Party should not be merely Tweedledum and Tweedledee to each other. I was chiefly interested in continuing the Democratic Party as the liberal, forward-looking, progressive party in the United States.

The primary campaigns in which I actively spoke consisted of one congressional campaign in my own home state, one senatorial campaign in my other home state of Georgia, one in Kentucky (where the choice was not between a conservative and a liberal, but between two liberals, one of whom was the experienced Democratic leader of the Senate), and one senatorial campaign in the state of Maryland, where I was accompanied by the chairman of the Democratic National Committee. It must be remembered, also, that in some of these states and in some other states, a definite misuse was being made of my name by one candidate or the other, falsely claiming that I favored his election. Under such circumstances I exercised my clear right to speak out in the interest of truth.

In these primary campaign speeches, I made it clear that I was not trying to dictate to the people of any state as to how they should vote. What I was trying to do was to impresss upon them the necessity of voting for liberal candidates—if they wanted a continuation of the liberal kind of government which they had had since 1933.

Looking back on the domestic issues of 1937 and 1938, there is much satisfaction in realizing that the American people, as a whole, were not taken in by the bitter accusations and dire predictions of those who cried "dictatorship," "imminent bankruptcy" or "strangulation of business." The determination of the people to continue the same liberal program of progressive reform was clearly expressed at the polls in 1938. The cause of progressive government had found definite approval with the people and the people were determined that it be continued.

The political struggle of 1938 had not been in vain. Liberalism in government was still triumphant.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT: 1882-1945

"At the grave of a hero we end, not with sorrow at the inevitable loss, but with the contagion of his courage; and with a kind of desperate joy we go back to the fight."

—Mr. Justice Holmes

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